

The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

A CATHOLIC QUARTERLY
for Teachers and Students of History

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No. 4

CHAMPLAIN:

FATHER OF NEW FRANCE

Raphael N. Hamilton

GABRIEL GARCIA MORENO

W. Eugene Shiels

SPANISH AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

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RICHELIEU:

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Champlain: Father of New France

Raphael N. Hamilton, S. J., Ph. D.

Marquette University

FOR a hundred and fifty miles north from the Spanish border the shores of France present an almost unbroken wall to the eternal assaults of the open Atlantic. Then the magnificent harbor of the Gironde penetrates far inland to the vicinity of Bordeaux. Many an American dough-boy received his first impression of Europe as his transport steamed into this port during the years of the World War. At the time, probably few of those soldiers realized that they were not far from a spot which must always be included among those where American history was cradled. A few miles north of La Gironde, sheltered behind the island of Oléron is the little harbor of Brouage. In this inconspicuous village, three hundred and seventy-two years ago, Samuel de Champlain was born. Champlain was to select the site for the first French settlement in the present boundaries of the United States and almost unaided was to save a vast empire for France in North America.

In 1567, when this baby boy came into the world, the civil wars between French Catholics and Huguenots were already a commonplace of more than ten years' duration. La Rochelle, the stronghold of the Huguenots, was only a short distance from his home, and he grew up with the smell of gunpowder in his nostrils. His own home town was captured and recaptured by the various factions several times during his boyhood. Perhaps this early environment is responsible for the brave spirit which he showed ever after in life. Be that as it may, a good Catholic home bred in him a love for the Catholic faith which he never lost. His was to be an adventurous life, but he always cherished his religion and turned to it for guidance and comfort in most trying and divergent situations. Next to his love for the Faith came his love for the sea. His admiration for a sailor's life and his zeal

for religion are evidenced in his writings. In the dedication of his autobiography, *The Voyages of Sieur de Champlain of Saintonge, Captain in Ordinary to the King in the Marine*, he wrote: "of all the most useful and excellent arts, that of navigation has always seemed to me to occupy the first place." A little earlier he had written: "The salvation of a single soul is worth more than the conquest of an empire and kings ought not to dream of extending their dominion in those countries where idolatry reigns except for the purpose of subjecting them to Jesus Christ." Again he says that the vocation of a sailor attracted him because by it "the only religion, Catholic, Apostolic and Roman" might be made to flourish in the New World. So, the sea and the Faith were closely connected in his affection.

Learning to pray and learning to sail a boat, the years passed rapidly for young Champlain. He grew into a fine, stalwart young man. Meantime, the wars which had witnessed his birth, dragged on. Now, in 1589, a new political element was injected into them. The assassination of Henry III left Henry of Bourbon, King of Navarre, the only legitimate claimant to the throne of France. He was a Huguenot. Hence, a Catholic faction opposed him. Philip of Spain aided this group. Young Champlain entered the army and fought for Henry against the foreign interference of Spain. Joy must have filled his heart when, in 1593, his champion abjured heresy and, becoming a Catholic, united the French people. But five more years of service in the ranks were to follow before the Peace of Vervins finally eliminated the Spanish armies from his native soil. Champlain was about thirty years old when this event occurred, leaving him free to devote his energies to the real lifework for which, he felt, God had destined him.

In 1599 he put out to sea as captain of the *St. Julian*, a stout ship of five hundred tons, seeking the New World. Strangely enough, he was flying the flag of the Spanish king against whom he had fought for the past eight years. An uncle in the pilot service of that monarch secured his commission and he joined an Armada which was to patrol the Caribbean to protect the colonies and their shipping from English pirates. It is remarkable to note the alert observation displayed in a careful record which Champlain kept of all that he deemed useful for what he hoped might develop into an adventure to the glory of God and France. The results of his investigations, illustrated with sketches of his own as well as maps, and containing suggestions which presented themselves to his active mind, were incorporated in a report upon his return to France in 1601. Probably the first idea of a trans-Isthmian canal occurs in this little manuscript. The author surmises that if it were dug, "the voyage to the South Sea would be shortened by more than fifteen hundred leagues." This account was presented to King Henry IV and won royal favor for the author. It must have been at this time that he was raised to the rank of the minor nobility, for he soon began signing himself *Sieur de Champlain*.

This recognition came just at the right time for the fulfillment of larger ambitions. The comparative peace inaugurated by the reign of King Henry had proved fruitful in the development of French resources. Things had gone so well that the king and his energetic minister, Sully, were easily interested in the suggestion of Aymar de Chastes, governor of Dieppe, who in 1603 proposed a plan of trans-oceanic expansion in the valley of the St. Lawrence, which had been explored and claimed for France by Cartier some seventy years before. Arrangements were quickly completed. Two ships were ready to sail on a reconnaissance in the early spring of the same year. Champlain, who had served under de Chastes in the royal fleet during the civil war and who had done so well in reporting the incidents of his Caribbean cruise, was commissioned as Geographer Royal of the expedition and instructed to bring back "a true report of what should befall" to His Majesty. Six months later the two ships returned after a successful trip in which they had ascended the St. Lawrence as far as the island where Cartier had visited the Indian village of Hochelaga, the present site of Montreal. The results of the exploration were embodied by Champlain in a book, illustrated with carefully drawn maps, which was published in Paris in 1604.

Despite the fact that preparations were complete for planting a French colony in the New World, events at home had taken a turn which threatened to frustrate this purpose. De Chaves, the Catholic, had died, and Sully, the Huguenot, had granted jurisdiction over Acadia, with boundaries from the St. Lawrence River to the present site of New York City, to a fellow religionist named Pierre de Guast (or de Gua) *Sieur de Monts*. The possibility of wealth to be obtained from traffic in furs interested this gentleman more than the conversion of savages and the expansion of the French domain. When the first expedition under his management sailed for Canada in April, 1604, Catholic chaplains accompanied it, but they were there more by sufferance than from a

missionary spirit. In fact, three years later, de Monts' financial backers in France assigned as a principal reason for refusing further advances of cash the fact that nothing was being done to Christianize the Indians.

Although the first colonial attempt with which Champlain had associated himself thus became a failure in 1607, it was not without interesting and valuable results. During the three years which he had been in Acadia, he had explored and mapped the coast of what was to become New England. And, of course, the first settlement of 1604 had been made on the Island of St. Croix which is today within the limits of the state of Maine. Thus the earliest European homes built north of Spanish Florida were erected on the territory of the United States.

De Monts was not discouraged by the results of this venture. He obtained a new commission for a settlement on the shores of the St. Lawrence. His reason for choosing the new locality is said by Champlain to have been "the hope of greater advantages in case of settling in the interior, where people are civilized, and where it is easier to plant the Christian Faith." That last clause is so typical of the missionary spirit of the man who had explored the great river in 1603 that it would hardly seem rash to surmise that Champlain was largely responsible for the whole new undertaking. At any rate De Monts decided to stay at home this time to care for finances. The whole colonial enterprise was turned over to Champlain. He was on his way April 13, 1608, and July 3 he went ashore at the rock of Quebec which he had selected for the site of his establishment.

Despite all precautions which he could take, the following winter almost cost him his life and the lives of his men. Scurvy depleted their number to eight. Indians threatened. Under these circumstances he made his famous expedition with the Hurons against the Iroquois. That invasion has been criticized as the cause of the long standing hostility of the Five Nations toward the French, but at the time it was almost a necessity. If he had not kept the good will of the Hurons, there would have been little hope that his handful of settlers might survive in the midst of hostile savages.

The year 1610 brought the death of Henry IV by the hand of an assassin, the despair of De Monts in the success of the colony, and the squandering of French resources by the Regent, Marie de Medici. It took the courage of Champlain to carry on with all these odds against him. By heroic labor for the better part of two years in France, by forming a company which would finance his colony if he produced sufficient profit in furs, he saved the existence of Quebec. Huguenot merchants constituted the majority of the stockholders in the new corporation. This accounts for the fact that no missionaries returned to Canada until 1615. That year four Franciscan Recollets arrived who were to devote themselves to the conversion of the savages.

Serious efforts were made in the next few years to gather peltries and thus assure the good will of the company, but the members were unsatisfied with the returns on their investment. Hence they did not exert themselves to help the struggling colonists. In 1620 the entire population of Quebec was only forty-six. However, things

(Turn to page eighty-three)

Note Taking in Historical Research

Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., Ph. D.

Loyola University

Systems

NOTHING is more inevitable in historical research than note-taking. Any venture into the field means the assembling of a quantity of items which one must manage somehow to hold in suspense until the time comes to fix them in some or other way in writing. No researcher, though rejoicing in the memory of a Mezzofanti or a Macaulay, ever reaches a point where he feels he can place on it the entire burden of carrying around, subject to instant and accurate recall, the data he has accumulated. Literary workers in all ages have recognized the limitations of memory and the need of supplementing it by artificial aids.

How to take notes in the right way is accordingly one of the first lessons the history student has to learn. Wrong ways can be learned and have been learned at regrettable loss of time and labor. Here, as in so many other matters, proper direction at the outset, supplemented by one's own common sense, will bring rich returns later on. Personal experience also counts for much; only after repeated mistakes may one hit upon the system of note-taking best suited to one's tastes and needs. "Any one who has had experience in original records work, certainly in the social sciences, knows that the taking of notes and the arrangement of these notes is more than half the battle (Broadus Mitchell)."

Systems of note-taking are, in the main, two. One system makes use of blank or copy books, the other of cards, slips or loose leaves. The first held the field from classical times to the latter part of the nineteenth century, and is not quite obsolete even now. George Bancroft, at work in the forties on his history, had on hand a number of large ledger-size blank books with one or more pages given to the successive days of the years covered by his work. Data gathered by him in reading and research was duly entered in these books on the page or pages corresponding to the particular day and year to which they belonged. (J. S. Bassett, *The Middle Group of American Historians*, New York, 1917, p. 208.). Even as late as the nineties another American historian, James Ford Rhodes, made use only of blank books for his notes, the card system being at the time something of a novelty. Towards the close of the last century public and other libraries began to discontinue the practice of getting out printed catalogues of their books, chiefly for the reason that the catalogues were out of date and in need of supplementing as soon as printed. As a substitute for the printed catalogue, the card system was introduced. Its use eventually became widespread not only in libraries but among students and research workers in all fields and even in business and commercial offices, where now the card index is generally an indispensable feature of equipment.

The old blank book system labors under the disadvantage that it is inelastic and does not easily admit of insertions. Moreover, it is difficult to adjust it to any satisfactory order, logical or topical, in the succession of the notes. To remedy this defect, an index, topical or

otherwise, to the contents of the blank book has to be prepared. These indexes multiply as the notes grow in volume so that the whole system tends to become awkward and cumbersome. Yet the blank book system is not wholly unsatisfactory, as is brought home to us by the fact that up to recent times historians apparently knew no other. The advantages of cards are that they are self-indexing, can be rearranged to suit convenience or necessity, and can receive additions of new cards indefinitely and in the proper place as the note-taking proceeds. A drawback to them is that it requires time and often patience to finger them when they run, as they may do on a certain topic, into large numbers. There is no doubt that a series of data, for example, titles of books, can be read off with more ease and rapidity from a few consecutive pages of a blank book than from some fifty or hundred cards. But in most cases the data will not appear in the blank book in the satisfactory order in which they can be entered on cards, and so in this instance the drawbacks of either system are balanced. On the whole there can be no doubt of the essential superiority of the card—or slip—to the blank book system, and it is the one to which all workers in history should early become accustomed. The student working in a library or archive should have a supply of cards with him for note-taking. But a notebook of some kind is still a desideratum on such occasions, as there will often be references and other data to record which will not conveniently find their place on cards. A notebook for jotting down items in lectures, conferences or interviews cannot be dispensed with.

Cards of various sizes for note-taking are easily obtainable from stationers and other dealers. The size most in use for the purpose is the same as that of the standard library catalogue card, 3 x 5 inches. Cards of larger dimensions are liable to be expensive; but they have the advantage of offering more space for writing, a convenience when a note is long and would perhaps run over into several cards of smaller size. In contrast to stiff but flexible cards, slips of paper cut in a size to suit the user's convenience have much to recommend them. Half a sheet of typewriting paper of standard size (8½ x 11 inches) furnishes a slip or loose leaf that can be used with satisfactory results. When only a few words are to be noted down, as in the case of a bibliographical entry, a smaller sized slip will be preferable. When slips are grouped according to topical or other headings, the groups can be filed vertically in individual folders, generally of manila paper. Filing cases or cabinets in various materials as steel, wood or pasteboard for either cards or slips are obtainable from stationers and dealers in library or office supplies. The 5½ x 8½ slip mentioned above can be filed in the case made for the full-sized typewriting sheet. This is often desirable as together with the slips one may wish to file away in the same case but in separate folders other pertinent material as manuscripts, pamphlets, etc., of larger size than the slips. The loose leaf blank book has most of the advantages of a card—or slip—system. The leaves or large-sized slips, being preserved between the

covers of a binder and not in a filing-case, can be handled with the same ease with which one handles an ordinary book.

Technique

Note-taking, as a serious side to historical research, should be carried on with intelligence and method.

a) The cards will fall into two main groups according as they contain bibliographical entries only or extracts, summaries, comments, etc. The two groups being distinct in purpose must be filed separately.

b) As a rule only one side of the card should be written on. Sometimes it is convenient to make some or other notation on the reverse side, a practice which may also on occasion be put to account when the matter requires more than one side, though in this case the better general practice is to use an additional card.

c) Only one item should be entered on one and the same card. Manuals that offer directions for note-taking are very exacting in the case of this particular rule. They allow of no exceptions. But it is often a problem to determine whether the extract to be copied contains only one item or several in the sense of the rule. Thus, a passage of some length from a contemporary letter commenting, say, on Washington's attitude on the three several matters of the Federal Constitution, internal improvements, and the Jay Treaty may be handled in either one of two ways. The passage may be divided into three parts, each being entered on a separate card to be filed under its respective topical heading; or it may be entered as a unit on one card, which is then filed under one of the three topics with cross-references on separate cards to the other two topics. A third solution may be considered. If the three parts of the passage are of interest to the student only as so many illustrations, let us say, of Washington's conservatism, then really only one item is involved; hence a single card, appropriately headed, suffices, and cross-references will be unnecessary. The rule, separate cards for separate items, may seem at times to be burdensome and to swell the volume of cards unnecessarily; but it should be rigorously adhered to as it justifies itself in the long run.

An obvious excellence of the card-system is that it is self-indexing. But to be so, headings or captions must be given the cards or slips. This is not always as simple a matter as may appear. To file away notes merely in the order in which they were taken would be manifestly illogical. Some organization of notes into groups according to an intelligible plan is indispensable. This plan will be for all intents and purposes identical with the outline or scheme of treatment of the topic in hand formulated by the student at the outset of his research. Such an outline, orderly and comprehensive, and set out at least tentatively under heads and subheads, may and should be a guide to him at every stage of his task. (HISTORICAL BULLETIN, XVII (Jan., 1939), 32). The heads and subheads of the outline will furnish the topical captions for the notes. When he reaches the stage of composition, he will find himself in the happy position of having all his data, as far as they are furnished by the notes, arranged more or less in the same order in which they are to be embodied in the article, monograph or book. This is an advantage which amply repays time and labor spent in careful and systematic taking of notes.

Bibliographical data aside, notes may take any one of five typical forms: (a) *word-for-word extract*; (b) *summary*; (c) *reference*; (d) *comment*; (e) *factual memorandum*.

a, b) *Word-for-word extract, summary*. Whether a passage from a source is to be copied verbatim or summarized in the note-taker's own words is a question he will have to settle for himself in each particular case. Sometimes the passage may be of such importance to illustrate or prove a point or serve some other useful purpose that he will wish to have the exact wording at hand for close study later on; perhaps he may even wish to incorporate it textually in the finished work. In these cases nothing remains but to transcribe the passage word for word. The copying of passages requires painstaking care; after the copy is made it should be checked carefully with the original for possible errors. Sometimes a passage is seen to be useful for the investigator's purpose, but there is no likelihood that it will be needed subsequently for particular study or formal quotation; moreover, it may be too long to quote textually. In such cases it will be enough to summarize or condense it, a process which requires the utmost care. The sense of the original must be reproduced *substantially* and *accurately* without distortion of any kind. This is a matter of the first importance. When the time comes to use the note, the original may be entirely out of reach; one cannot be checked with the other. Hence implicit confidence must be put in the summary and its accuracy. If anywhere in note-taking, certainly here caution and conscientious attention to the matter in hand are imperative.

Whenever a passage is copied textually or condensed, an inexorable rule requires that the source from which it was drawn be entered in the note. If one fails to do so, results are liable to be embarrassing. Perhaps no researcher, however practiced, has escaped altogether the experience that when he came to cite a passage from his notes he could not do so as reference to the source was missing. Even if the title of the latter can be recalled, reference to it without page number may be unsatisfactory, while searching out the passage may be prohibitive owing to the size of the work or the absence of an index. As to anonymous quotations in history, they are generally useless for purposes of proof or confirmation; one must indicate (when possible) the source from which the quotation is cited. In the familiar phrase, one must "give chapter and verse." Hence no card or slip containing a quotation or summary should be allowed to leave one's hands until an exact reference to its source has been entered thereon. To insure accuracy, the reference should be entered directly from the source. Unless there be reasons to the contrary, this item may well be the first thing written on the card.

c) *Reference*. Often a mere reference to a passage will be all that need be entered on the card. This will happen when one wishes merely to cite an authority in illustration or proof in the expectation that the critical reader, if interested, will look up the passage for himself. Again, one may be pressed for time while the source will later be within easy and convenient reach. It is folly to spend valuable time in a library or archive making

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EDITORIALS

The Humble Historian

Those of us who are bewildered by the whirl and rush of the dynamic present may always find rest and refreshment in fields far aloof from events chronicled in the daily press. In the *Edinburgh Review* for May, 1828, Thomas Babington Macaulay wrote an essay on "History."

To write history respectably [he tells us] . . . is easy. But to be a really great historian is perhaps the rarest of intellectual achievements. Many scientific works are, in their kind, absolutely perfect. There are poems which we should be inclined to designate as faultless, . . . There are speeches in which it would be impossible to alter a word without altering it for the worse. But we are acquainted with no history which approaches to our notion of what a history ought to be . . .

The province of history, he tells us, is a debatable land—under the jurisdiction of two hostile powers—dominated now by Reason, now by Imagination. "It is sometimes fiction. It is sometimes theory." It has been called "philosophy teaching by examples." But "unhappily, what philosophy gains in soundness and depth the examples lose in vividness." The perfect historian must possess a powerful imagination. At the same time "he must be a profound and ingenious reasoner." And then after a display of his own prodigious erudition he concludes:

A historian such as we have been attempting to describe would indeed be an intellectual prodigy. In his mind powers scarcely compatible with each other must be tempered into an exquisite harmony. We shall sooner see another Shakespeare or another Homer. . . .

A few months later (*Ibid.*, September, 1828) Macaulay returned to the charge in the opening paragraph of his essay on Hallam:

History, at least in its state of ideal perfection, is a compound of poetry and philosophy. It impresses general truths upon the mind by a vivid representation of particular characters and incidents. But, in fact, the two hostile elements of which it consists have never been known to form a perfect amalgamation; . . . Good histories, in the proper sense of the word, we have not. But we have good historical romances and good historical essays.

We may or may not find these brief extracts flattering to our justifiable pride in the nobility of our vocation. But surely, the contemplation of this lofty ideal need not lead to despair. We can, if we like, reject utterly the assumptions and definitions of the masterful essayist. Librarians have classified his voluminous historical writings without adverting to their historical content. They have filled the shelves of their history sections in quiet

disregard of his high conception of what an historian should be. We ourselves, at once more modest and more exacting, may feel that we can get on very well without his Shakespearean Imagination or his Aristotelian powers of Reason, and that his "compound of poetry and philosophy," however desirable, falls short of what we should demand in any historian. And we can point to the obvious fact that the very considerable achievements of the past century in the field of history have been made under the aegis of a quite different ideal.

Nor need those among us be discouraged who are plodding along in a humbler way, with a practical sense of the possible, in our research as well as in our interpretation of the past for others. Professionals or amateurs, specialists or teachers of general history, we are conscious of a great opportunity and a concomitant responsibility. We may feel that life is too short for theorizing, and be content to dig out hidden facts in a chosen area. We may even share the feeling so close to contempt which was the prevailing attitude of the near past for the "philosophy of history." We may prefer the producer of a well documented monograph whose industry and approved technique have rendered fruitful his investigation, discovery, reconstruction and portrayal of historic scenes, careers, movements or institutions. But it is well to note that there is at present a pronounced reaction in favor of the once despised "philosophy of history," whether by way of reaction to an over-emphasis on the factual element in history, or by way of direct though tenuous influence of earlier philosophers. With no lessening of appreciation for the factual and the concrete, there is much searching, misguided often and futile, for the "meaning of history." This may be regarded as a wholesome trend, though, as will appear in the sequel, it is easier to pick flaws in the newer systems than it is to arrive at a satisfactory and universally acceptable synthesis.

Macaulay himself, we may recall, is among the most readable and the least reliable of historians. His essays sparkle and glitter. Style is the secret of their marvelous success. But it was the success of a writer of party history, of a propagandist. He was thanked for writing a history of England that workingmen could read. But like most popular histories it was written "against the

people." Most brilliant of the Whig historians he "erected a Chinese wall between the English people and their past." Shall we merely look to his literary excellence, wink at his slander of the dead, and accept his version of the past as comparatively harmless because it happened to coincide with the interests of a dominant class and their pseudo-philosophy of government? In any case, I hasten to forestall resentment at this unkind criticism by assuring my audience that I have enjoyed and still enjoy the rapid, easy flow of a writer whom no one can trust. Moreover, we may all feel grateful for the encomium implied in his demand for universal genius in the ideal historian.

Map-makers are working overtime in a frantic and futile effort to keep up with changes in the political face of Europe. Historians sympathize with them. But historians can afford to wait until the jittery present becomes the calmer past. It might be well, even, to declare a moratorium on all attempts to interpret events, and be content with a mere chronicling of them. We shall very likely find that half of what the newspapers are telling us is true. We may be convinced that we are getting half of the truth right now. But a knowledge of fractions will not insure us against accepting the wrong half of what we read.

Some day, a new chapter will be added to the handbooks on historical method. The old rules scarcely seem adequate to cover the latest technique in the manufacture of news. It is not merely that the agencies which misinformed the world day after day during the Spanish War will move with their deliberate falsehood, to other fields where the magnitude of their operations and the skill of their experts will call for attention. But we are particularly interested in each new discovery which leads to an understanding of their technique. They lie shamelessly, but they always try to lie cleverly. It would take some research to piece together examples of vigorous counter-statement which seem to be part of a planned system to neutralize any and every charge against the Red Revolution. The latest specimen that has come to hand is an accusation of unfairness (!) to the Reds on the part of the American press, of bias in favor of Franco!

But the changing map and unethical (in the Bourgeois sense) propaganda are not the only worries of the "current historian." One of our biggest problems arises from the reckless use of words. And the best example of a misused word we have at the moment is "democracy." Russia is listed among the "Democracies" of the world! And literally millions fail to see the joke. Of course, the American boob has been educated or conditioned to accept words without thinking. We shudder at some of the revelations implicit in the "infallible" Gallup poles. A vote on "democracy" would be one hundred per cent affirmative, which it should be. A Socratic quiz of the voters would evoke a lot of stuttering. At least, we wonder how the Russian brand of democracy could be forced into the same category with American, British, Christian or even Rousseauvian democracy.

"Democracy in a Quandary" is the arresting title of an article in the current (March, 1939) *Social Frontier*. The writer, Johannes Mattern, finds that "democracy" must protect "constitutional rights even if such protection threatens... an actual destruction of democracy." It must, moreover, reckon with two types of critics: its friends, who want it to live up to its ideals, and its enemies, who consider its premises erroneous and its aims impossible.

Communism, opportunist and for the moment quiescent, is one enemy. The other is fascism, which points to the social disintegration resulting from the demand for rights without responsibilities, from countless pseudo-philosophies, from specialization without integration, from "a fatal negativism and a destructive materialistic and mechanistic view of life."

Friendly critics of democracy will agree with much of this. "They will point out that in philosophy and ethics democracy must reconstruct its concept of the relations of man to society." While rejecting totalitarianism, it must at the same time avoid excessive individualism and anarchy. It must avoid mechanistic fads in education. It must provide economic security, reconcile conflicting interests, eradicate crooked politics. Its survival depends upon a "sufficiency of self-respecting men."

In 1829, William Cobbett, "the bellicose pamphleteer," in his *History of the Protestant Reformation*, pointed out one of the most significant truths of English economic history. Calling to the attention of the nation the serious deterioration of the social conditions of the English peasantry since the beginning of the 16th century, he pointed out as the root cause of the phenomenon "the dissolution of the religious houses at the time of the Reformation, and the alienation of property which formerly was held for the relief of poverty, and which now passed into selfish and unscrupulous hands." Thorold Rogers, called the pioneer of modern critical, economic history, substantiated Cobbett's assertions by his own independent researches. In view of this it is difficult to understand how the majority of present-day economic historians can ignore the established thesis that the condition of the peasantry between 1500 and 1850 was consistently made worse by the individualistic attitude of the land-owning class.

Richard Lamb ("The Perversion of Economic History" in *Blackfriars*, September, 1936) condemns this neglect of the obvious explanation of the decline of the English lower classes in economic histories of today. He offers a comparison of the standard of living among the peasantry for various periods between the 12th and 19th centuries, which emphasizes in a striking manner the sudden and rapid descent of Post-Reformation living conditions. While allowing for the evil effects of the Napoleonic wars and the misguided Speenhamland System, he asserts as the real cause, the greed of an unscrupulous monied class, unrestrained by the discipline of the Catholic Church, "a truth which cannot be disproved, but which anti-Catholic writers thrust unrefuted into the background."

Gabriel Garcia Moreno

W. Eugene Shiels, S. J., Ph. D.

Loyola University

THE proverb has it that one dead hero excels ten live generals. During his life in Ecuador, Garcia Moreno had the ordinary experience of the heroic soul: struggle in the line of duty, neglect and scorn from those who should have been his allies, particularly the reform-crying secret societies. One of their group, the poet Montalvo, claimed full credit for his violent death. And yet, in his sudden removal from life, Garcia Moreno immediately received universal eulogy. His senate and deputies in joint session acclaimed him the Regenerator of his country and the martyr of Christian civilization. Pictures and statues, verses, plays and biographies glorified his name, and today to all Hispanic America he is the symbol of good government, social justice and Christian culture, the epitome of their civilization. San Martin is remembered as the brilliant, generous soldier. Bolivar is the toast of political speeches and constitutional assemblies. Neither of them touches the soul of the common man nor guides his ideas as does this leader of obscure Ecuador.

Most textbooks limit their treatment of Garcia Moreno to his political career. He is conveniently classed with the *caudillos* or men on horseback, and dismissed with as little ceremony as the general run of those country lords whose acres and herds and grand manner held their subjects in feudal allegiance. The truth is that he holds a unique place in the story of Ecuadorean rule. His political acumen and success were of a high order, but there was much more to the man. The setting for his rise to supreme power lies in a series of revolts and a succession of presidents with little right other than force and warfare. Ecuador separated from Nueva Granada in 1830. For fifteen years the dictator Flores managed the regime. The next twenty-two years, to 1867, saw six successive constitutions and a series of turbulent radicals. Democratic forms proved utterly unfit for that new race of mestizo and creole adventurers. The sovereignty of the people and the other dicta of the Rights of Man which had been borrowed from France became excuses for any well-backed individual to impose his individual will on a million inhabitants. In the process a rich land and a goodhearted people were reduced to a mere shadow of personal rights and to economic and social degradation. There was need for a Washington or a Lincoln to vindicate the demands of justice, security and decent living.

Garcia Moreno was not a caudillo, in the sense that he rested his right on his own lordly establishment. Though he came of affluent stock which boasted pure Castilian blood, he achieved his position through the solid support of his countrymen, a support given him because of his known ability to devise and carry through the program which would rescue his people from tyranny and construct for them a system of sound law and economy. In this popular support he is marked off from his contemporaries in other countries; the neighboring peoples, except Chile and the Brazil of Pedro II, had a set of rulers who gained and held control through methods closely resembling those of the modern totalitarian regimes. In-

deed Garcia Moreno protected himself during his presidency with armed forces. No man in that day, who was known for a sense of justice and a forthright respect for his subjects, was safe from the subterranean plots and the flighty fancies of "democratic" cliques. That he finally fell a victim to the lodges was not due in any way to misrule or speculation. He was sacrificed by the enemies of Ecuador, the "enemy within," a group whose Jacobin purposes would make of their fellow-citizens either dupes of their scheming or mementos of their hidden assaults.

However, the science of party control was the least of his legacies to his grateful people. Garcia Moreno was a statesman; in this, his life became an ideal for the youth and a model for subsequent executives. No man of his day had such a preparation for the presidency as he gained for himself in his personal education. Like Bolivar he possessed a magnetic temperament and a background of nobility. Trained carefully in his early years by his widowed mother, he was graduated in 1844 from his local university of Quito with the doctorate in jurisprudence.

Bertrand, whose *Histoire de l'Amérique espagnole* devotes considerable attention to Garcia Moreno, offers some interesting information on his formative years in Europe. Exile enabled him to cross over to Paris. The first months there brought a considerable shock to this callow young man, and he found difficulty in adjusting himself to the rapid life of the capital. Personal principle felt the fire of serious trial; for a time his vision was clouded by a discouragement born of doubt in the worth of decent and productive living. The cynicism of the old regime had not altogether passed away. Gaudy and luxurious fashion still claimed its many followers. On the other hand were protestants against this human waste who turned to radical ways in the train of men like Louis Blanc or Proudhon. Meantime, a new ferment was working among leaders of thought who saw that the old days had gone forever, that a system must be erected to meet the challenge of the tremendous change in industry and education growing out of the nineteenth century. Villeneuve-Bargemont and Ozanam had matched Lacordaire and the group directing *L'Avenir*. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul directed powerful forces toward the direct relief of the poor. Lamartine and Lamennais had written effectively of Christian democracy, and rejected an outworn and intolerant absolutism. Science, energy, discipline, faith: such was the spirit that Garcia Moreno worked into his decisive nature during those days before he came back to Ecuador in 1850.

On a second exile, from 1854 to 1856, he studied mathematics, physics and chemistry. There in Paris he formed a friendship with the agrarian specialist Boussingault who had explored his own South America and offered valuable comment on the needs of the Andean republics. But his particular attention was directed toward journalism and legal study, for in his view it would be the moral and political sciences that would form an elite in Ecuador with its particular problem of only 300,000 whites among a million people. With this in view, he began to formulate

his doctrines of social Catholicism. He saw the Church as the true Mother of truth in religion, ethics and sociology, and he swore that She should become the guide of his country. Likewise at this period he took up a vigorous defense of the Jesuits who had been expelled from Ecuador by President Urbina.

Thus armed with ideas and determination, Garcia Moreno once more returned to Quito, where in 1857 he was elected mayor of the capital. As the city mayor he acted as rector of the university, where he mingled researches in the field of chemistry with his administrative duties. In 1861 he was elected president of the republic for a four year term. Again in 1869, after taking part in the overthrow of a new tyrant, he was elected for six years in accordance with a changed constitutional provision. In 1875 he was re-elected, but on the very next day, as he was leaving the cathedral after a ceremony of celebration he fell under the machetes and revolvers of his assassins. His dying lips proclaimed: "God does not die!" That sublime valedictory echoed round the world.

His public career conferred great benefits on his people, and even his enemies have joined in the universal eulogy of his presidencies. He saw his task with something of the vision of Bolivar, and like him he sought in government a strong executive. In his revised constitution of 1869 the president would hold office for six years and had the privilege of re-election. The continuous action of one will, in his mind, was needed for great enterprises. The deputies were to be chosen for six years and the senators for nine, to assure a stability to the regime. As a leader according to the Spanish Christian ideal, he felt himself vested with authority from above and charged by the people who elected him with their energetic direction. Though he did not hesitate to use force to control disturbers of the popular welfare, he considered himself responsible to his people, and in his annual messages—clear, exact and concrete—he gave a faithful report to his constituents. Above all he acted under a deep sense of obligation to God. This double sense of responsibility serves to distinguish him from other *caudillos*, and it gave to each of his public acts a special significance.

His contribution to the literary and scientific thought of his nation evinces his determination to form there the intellectual leadership without which no democracy can flourish. Under his influence the University of Quito became a strong center of studies, where European professors were employed to form an improved faculty and curriculum. Lower education was built on the model of the contemporary French school system. For the secondary training of boys he brought in the German Jesuits. Brothers of the Christian Schools and several orders of religious women took charge of the primary grades. He reorganized the School of Medicine at Quito and created three splendid new institutions, the national observatory, the polytechnic school and the conservatory of music. Future officers of his army were sent to learn tactics and strategy in the German Academy which in that day was considered the leading school of military science. The entire educational program enjoyed his constant supervision, whether in eliminating sluggish teachers or in emphasizing the needs of adequate examinations.

It will be readily understood that as a Catholic president he did not see science and faith as enemies. Religion

constituted the supreme form of truth as well as the certain guide of conduct and of social law. To give it full opportunity he created a harmonious arrangement in the concordat of 1862, whereby the Papacy obtained full liberty in appointing Ecuadorean bishops. His government renounced the long-held right of the *Patronato*, a control over the Church which so many rulers of his day kept in jealous possession. To the liberals this was displeasing, for in religious matters these men, far more liberal, were more regalist than their former kings. They never forgave him for that move. With the concordat in operation the Church exercised its influence in instruction and moral training such as it had done during the Spanish dominion. Here again the Liberals, with their doctrine that science and faith do not readily mix, condemned the attitude of this man whom later writers would call the salvation of his land. He himself expected to find in that work of the clergy the most solid guarantee of family stability, civic unity and a patriotic national spirit.

To realize this purpose he labored at a work that Sucre had earlier marked out, the reform of the clergy of Ecuador, whose condition had not always been edifying. In this effort he was given great assistance by the Holy Father and the superiors of the religious orders. The resultant purification of life brought down on him many new enmities, but it was necessary and it produced immense good.

This Christian republic, which in 1873 Garcia Moreno had publicly consecrated to the Sacred Heart, aroused the fury of the free-thinkers and libertines and especially of the secret societies. The story of these secret societies in South America has never been done into English in any satisfactory account, but until it is appreciated we cannot understand the deeper currents in South American politics. During the wars of secession the lodges were planted by Spanish officers, many of whom remained after peace was made. Rivalries between Yorkinos and Scotistas are behind much of the earlier politics. As these quarrels dissolved, one or other group formed the strongest permanent party in the several states, and thus the elections always revolved about the programs and nominees of some Masonic lodge. Though not always anti-clerical, the political contests would take on a strong character of attack on the Church when a thorough-going churchman such as Garcia Moreno led the opposition. And the purely civic passions of men were in this way merged with religious bitterness, with results that were disastrous in both fields. Fundamentally it was a contest for power, but in Ecuador as in Mexico it became a contest between the anti-Christian and Christian concept of the State. There, the sternest enemy of Garcia Moreno was at the same time a notable writer, one of the striking products of Hispanic American literature, Juan Montalvo. Exiled by the president he sought his vengeance in sowing persistent calumny against this upright man throughout the Spanish and French reading publics. His success may be measured by the words he wrote after the assassination: "It was not Rayo's knife that slew the tyrant but my own pen!"

In the tremendous field of social welfare, where civil war had left a trail of widespread human misery, Garcia

Moreno had the opportunity to exhibit his special aptitudes and training. A résumé of his achievement will indicate the lines of his work. In 1872 he was able to announce in his annual message that, within four years, the treasury surplus rose from 1,400,000 to 2,900,000 pesos, and this without any defaulting on obligations or a diminution of subsidies or pensions. This was obtained with no increase in taxes. Moreover, he carried through the entire indemnity payment to proprietors for the liberation of their slaves. He reduced the external debt by 227,000 pesos. His minister of public instruction had disbursed 442,000. On public works, roads, bridges, aqueducts 1,200,000 were expended. He built the remarkable road from Guayaquil up to Quito, a climb of over 9,000 feet. The national highway was completed, the *Via del Sur*, running from north to south for 160 miles and including 100 bridges and 400 viaducts. A railroad was constructed from the port at Guayaquil to the capital. It was this man whom Montalvo called in his *Siete Trastados* "an abominable monster, the scourge of humanity, the terror of the weak, the ruin of the courageous, the enemy of God and man who should be put to death with as much right as a tiger or a poison adder!"

A truer estimate is given by Francisco Garcia Calderon in his work, *Latin Democracies*: "Garcia Moreno represents the high mark of civilization in Ecuador. Union among his people, thirty years of battle against militarism, progress in material things, in religion and in morals, strong opposition to license, civil honor made a force against the sterile tradition of armies and warfare, true democracy combating corrosive demagoguery and raging anarchy."

The words and works of Garcia Moreno were a protest against that liberal, laissez faire world that gave to the strong and fortunate whatever they could take. To him the meanest Ecuadorean had rights equal to those of any lodge or caudillo. He wished to form intelligent and just democrats. In his day that wish was not gratified, but his example and his doctrine exercise a serious influence on his country today. She will never forget that noble man who has written into her history his immortal name.

(Note: The documents and books for a study of Garcia Moreno are in the Spanish tongue. Maxwell-Scott wrote a second rate biography in English. The several texts on Latin America (preferred by some to *Hispanic America*) give brief notices of his political career. Among them that of Rippy is most understanding.)

Spanish American Universities

J. Manuel Espinosa, Ph. D.

St. Louis University

AMERICAN civilization was at first but an extension of that of Christian Europe, and since Spain was the pioneer colonizing nation in America we turn to the early Spanish American colonies for the first foundations of western European civilization in this hemisphere. As a part of this process it so happens that the first universities of the New World were the old colonial universities of Spanish America.

These pioneer institutions of higher learning were the direct legacy of the classical medieval universities, and all later universities including those of the United States, which date from the founding of Harvard College in 1636, despite relatively recent innovations, have a common heritage. The only essential difference is that the universities of the United States descended more directly from the twelfth century University of Paris, whereas the Spanish American universities descended from twelfth century Bologna, which was more identified with the revival of Roman Law and its civil and ecclesiastical ramifications. So in education, as in every other aspect of cultural expansion, Columbus drew the curtain of the American stage not for Spaniards alone, but for all European players. The history of higher education on this continent is simply one of the many threads of unity which pervade the whole fabric of Western Hemisphere development.

In the fifteenth century, the century when the New World suddenly sprang into existence as a new frontier of Europe, education was relatively decadent throughout all Europe, and was attacked harshly by the critics of the Renaissance. But it was fostered and developed in Spain under the able rule of the Catholic Kings, Charles V and Philip II. It progressed and spread, and the

epoch of the colonization of America by the Spaniards was also the Golden Age of their cultural supremacy.

The pioneer discoverers and conquerors began to come to America in the closing years of the fifteenth century, but the real work of conquest and colonization took place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This epoch was the Golden Age of Spanish literature and real scientific progress, and of the growth of Spanish universities. Some of the world's greatest spirits lived in Spain at this time: the lyric poets, Fray Luís de Leon, San Juan de la Cruz, and Góngora; the dramatists, Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, and Calderón de la Barca; the great mystic and lover of souls, Santa Teresa de Jesús; the militant reformer, Ignatius of Loyola; the political theorists and sociologists, Vitoria, Las Casas and Acosta; the humanist, Juan de Valdés; the historian, Juan de Mariana; the philosophers, Baltasar Gracián, Vives and Suarez; the immortal author of *Don Quixote*, Miguel de Cervantes; the great artists, Velásquez, Murillo, El Greco and a score of others. Briefly, this was the atmosphere and the cultural background of the Spanish conquest in America. It is not strange, then, that enthusiasm for education characterized the earliest establishments of the Spanish colonies in America.

Perhaps I should make clear at the outset that from the earliest colonial days the Catholic religion was the official State religion of Spain, and for that reason of Spanish America as well. For three centuries following the Spanish conquest, Church and State worked together as the very soul of what is now Spanish America. Together they formed that spiritual reality which we call Spanish civilization. To the clergy, who had long been the schoolmen of Western Europe, fell the task of trans-

mitting agencies of culture. When we speak of the Spanish conquest in America, then we really mean the "Spanish-Catholic" conquest. Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Jesuits, and other orders labored on every frontier for the advancement of science and culture, as well as to spread the Faith. As educators the clergy worked almost alone. The university professors were nearly all clergymen: Jesuits, Augustinians, Dominicans, or Franciscans.

"But let it not be believed that this religious spirit separated the Spaniards from the cultivation of the sciences. The Board of Trade of the Indies, the Academy of Mathematics created by Philip II under the direction of Herrera, the botanical gardens of Aranjuez and of Seville, the scientific expeditions of Dr. Francisco Hernandez to Mexico, the works of Oviedo and of Acosta in which Humboldt found the essentials for physical geography, are a good sample of Spanish thought. Nebrija was the first European to measure a degree of the terrestrial meridian; Molina de la Fuente had published the rectifications of Aristotle's theories, one year before Ticho-Brahe; Spain adopted and defended the Copernican system and taught it in Salamanca, when other countries were rejecting it or were considering it scornfully; the Rogete brothers initiated the construction of telescopes. Fernando Colon, Alonso de Santa Cruz and Jeronimo Cortes explained the theory of terrestrial magnetism; Master Fernan Perez de Oliva, that of the telephone by means of magnets; Ciruelo, the magnetic theory of astral refraction; Martin Cortes, that of the magnetic pole, in 1551, forty years before the Italians, to whom it is generally attributed; Arias Montano noticed atmospheric pressure before the Academicians of Florence. In cosmography and navigation it is known that everyone, until well into the seventeenth century, utilized the charts and the treatises on navigation published by such Spaniards as Martin de Enciso, Pedro de Medina and Martin Cortes. Spaniards like Torre, Ladrillero and Sarmiento originated the idea of the first submarine maps, with a study of ocean depths. Juan Ponce was the first to verify the existence of Atlantic currents along the coasts of Florida, and Morales explained them, in 1515, by the rotating motion of the Earth which is the present explanation of Science. By taking advantage of the currents which he supposed to exist between the Atlantic and the Pacific, Urdaneta made the crossing from the Philippines to Acapulco in 125 days. Alonso Barba, in his *Treatise on Metals*, initiated the theory of the evolution of matter; the physician Francisco Valles considered fire as a dynamic unity; Miguel Servet discovered the circulation of blood; the botanist Simon Tovar was the precursor of chemical experiments; Gregorio Lopez tried out surgical anaesthesia by means of mandragora . . . A *Spanish science* illuminated the world."

It seems that the first royal ordinance with regard to education in America was the one sent to the island of Española in 1503. Numerous other royal orders followed for the purpose of spreading popular education. But these royal orders do not represent the date of the appearance of schools in America. Missionary enterprise had already preceded official interest. When the first royal order of 1503 reached the Indies, already, in 1496, the Franciscan

Convent in Santo Domingo had opened an Indian school. Only four years after the discovery of America, Spain through the medium of the Catholic Church, began to extend the fruits of her own educational heritage to the recently discovered native races. Wherever the missionary went a school was soon established for the instruction of the natives, or a college for the religious who were already at work as well as for those who were soon to take Holy Orders, and also to meet the needs of the thousands of Spaniards who were annually coming to America to make their home. From the colleges sprang the universities, which, in all the Spanish dominions, were founded at a very early date for the pursuit of the "general studies" which were at that time taught in the great Peninsular universities of Alcalá and Salamanca.

Alcalá and Salamanca were the two characteristic types of Spanish Universities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The University of Alcalá was founded by the great Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros, and the first courses were given there in 1508. According to its early constitutions the school had chairs in Arts, Theology, Medicine, Canon Law, Grammar, and languages, principally Greek and Hebrew. The University of Salamanca, endowed principally by royal funds, had professorships in Arts, Theology, Medicine, Canons, Law (which Alcalá did not offer), and languages. Salamanca, the larger of the two institutions had 5,856 students in 1551, and 7,832 students in 1566. By the time that America was discovered Salamanca had become one of the largest and most famous universities in Europe. Most of the students, as today, studied in the professional schools, medicine and law, in great part a reflection of the modern industrial and urban society that was then emerging. University life inspired many writers of that day, which was the Golden Age of Spanish literature.

Latin was the usual language of textbooks, recitations, lectures and disputations. Every university graduate must have been able to talk Latin of a sort. And the securing of a degree was chiefly dependent upon the passing of certain examinations, in the Arts the successful defense orally of a number of particular more or less traditional philosophical theses either before a selected faculty committee or in a public disputation. The universities granted three degrees: bachelor of arts, licentiate of arts, and the doctorate.

The Jesuit Universities had a different emphasis in their course of studies. Their emphasis was principally theology. The original idea of Saint Ignatius was not to found centers of learning for the laity, but rather houses of study for the young members of the Society. Lay students were admitted to their colleges and universities, however, and in teaching them emphasis was placed on religion and the development of Christian character. The professional schools were not originally a part of the Jesuit university organization.

The first Spanish American universities were founded upon these models and these principles. In academic Spanish America, Catholic traditions were the stirring force, in contrast to academic English America, where Calvinistic traditions were planted.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

Richelieu: Politics versus Religion

Sister M. Purissima Reilly, O. P., M. A.

St. Mark's High School, St. Louis

In an earlier issue Richelieu's rise to power was traced. By vigorous and consistent repression of opposition the great Cardinal brought France under the control of his master, Louis XIII. He was then free to attack the Hapsburgs.

Foreign Policy

Richelieu was now ready to pursue unhampered his foreign policy of which the dominant note was the humiliation of the Hapsburgs. His first perambulations in the European arena were covertly manipulated, and included a varied program of utilizing the various enemies of Spain against her. The first case was the Valtelline issue in 1624, a few months after he had assumed power. The importance of this little pass across the Alps was incalculable at the time for the maintenance of the Hapsburg power, as it was the only route open for the transportation of troops from the empire into Milan. In 1622, during the regency, the case had been opened by the Spanish occupation of the pass and the appeal made by the Protestant Grisons to their French allies to rid the area of the interlopers. It had been amicably settled with the promise of Spain to withdraw and the promise of Urban VIII that the papal troops would act as a neutral army of occupation. France had accepted the arrangement, but Richelieu, immediately on his assumption to power, challenged the Pope and allied with the Grisons against the papacy. That he won the quarrel and then disavowed his victory was a master stroke of his genius. For in the welter of arrangements and concessions that followed, he had made only one stipulation, the only necessary one: that the Spaniards were not to use the Valtelline as a passage. He was hailed as a peacemaker, yet, with an astounding adroitness, he had manipulated with delicate and masterly touch the five-manual instrument of European diplomatic harmony: Spain, Savoy, the Pope, Holland, and England with a show of perfect detachment. The Valtelline was to prove the "origin of of the great and finally triumphant intrigue against Austria." The successful outcome of the Mantuan succession was an added jewel to French prestige.

The English marriage alliance was of the same hue. When the Pope showed his unqualified disapproval of the marriage of the French princess, Henriette Marie, to Prince Charles of England, Richelieu dispatched Cardinal de Bérulle to Rome to plead the advantages of the alliance. The congregation of cardinals, to whom the pontiff referred the matter, finally returned a favorable decision, and the marriage was accomplished, primarily to procure English assistance against the Huguenots, (a plan which proved abortive), as well as to threaten Austria in the case of the Palatinate. It was the second Protestant alliance.

Curbing the Hapsburgs

The time was now ripe for a thrust at Austria; France still remaining in the background. The Military prowess of Gustavus Adolphus had long been the subject of French speculation. He was now, in 1631, engaged to enter the lists against the Emperor Ferdinand II, who at

the height of his power in 1629, had decided to centralize Germany and, with Spanish help, to reestablish Catholicism. The Edict of Restitution issued on March 6, 1629, was to restore all the lands confiscated in contravention of the Treaty of Augsburg. Though the protestant leaders broke out in revolt against the Catholic league, a successful outcome was assured to the Catholic champion, Ferdinand II. Only the shadow of Richelieu fell across the plan. The fanatical genius of the Swedish king was called into service by the Cardinal-statesman for the ruin of the house of Austria. The clouded vision of the limited genius prevented him from penetrating into the future and seeing there lying side by side with the Hapsburg fragments, the debris of a united Christendom.

Only one shaft of chastened light falls across the grim picture of carnage that followed: the night of January 16, 1632, when Richelieu's better instincts, propped by the resolution of Père Joseph, struggled against his mundane ambitions and finished on the side of the angels in the first moments of the dawn. Gustavus Adolphus had tempted him with an early peace, granting one side of the Rhine to France and the other to himself, thus committing this Catholic area to the rapine and fanatical religious hatred of rampant protestantism.

The refusal goaded Adolphus into an orgy of battle that resisted every attempt of Richelieu to stay him. His death on November 16, 1632, however, left France in a perilous position, for the possibility of raising a French army seemed fantastic. War was formally declared in 1635, and for two years desperation gripped the French minister as the armies lost on all fronts. In 1636 there was a resurgence as the accession of the less vigorous Ferdinand III to the throne of the empire brought a new advantage to Gallic arms.

Richelieu despatched one army after another against the beleaguered Hapsburgs. The prestige of France grew steadily as the Austrian forces were exhausted from their continual fighting. A French victory was easily predictable. The death of the Cardinal in 1642, however, denied him the complete satisfaction of the Peace of Westphalia which brought the near fulfillment of the second of his original plans: the crushing of the House of Austria. He did not know that he had started a new era in the history of civilization.

Catholic Opposition

That the sensibilities of many religious-minded people in France were hurt by the policies of Richelieu is evident in the growth of an opposition party known as the *bons catholiques*. Their sentiments were ably expressed by a mysterious writer in a series of pamphlets that appeared from time to time during Richelieu's administration.¹³ The first appeared in 1625 and was entitled *Mysteria Politica*. It contained a vitriolic attack on the policies of the minister from a political viewpoint. The second, *Admonitio ad Regem*, besieged him from the vantage-point

¹³ Cf. Henri Fouquieray, S. J., *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Paris, 1925, XXIV, 19-26, for an account of the libellous pamphlets.

of theology and created a furore in French circles. Enemies of the Jesuits and the ultramonanists seized the opportunity to denounce the factiousness of the opponents of Gallicanism.¹⁴ That Richelieu was greatly moved by the fulminations levelled against him is betrayed in his *Memoirs*. That he made an extraordinary attempt to justify himself and his policies may be gleaned from the measures he took to destroy the "seditious" propaganda.

On October 29, 1625, he ordered the booklets denounced by the Provost of Paris and burned in the Place de Grève. The faculty of theology of the Sorbonne then examined and condemned the accusations; and Jérémie Ferrier, of doubtful Catholicity, was urged by the Gallicans, with the support of Richelieu, to write the refutation entitled *Le Catholique d'Etat*. It was full of invective against the Jesuits in general and Père Garasse in particular, who was all but denounced as the author of the libel. Inspired by Richelieu, a second refutation followed shortly after, this more violent than the first; and all the enemies of Rome and of the Society joined in the general hysteria. The country was inundated with pamphlets, refutations, and manifestoes one more acrimonious than the other. When one voice, that of M. Pelletier, was raised in defense, it was but a signal to unleash passions further. Just as the Jesuits were about to seek redress in the Council of the King, the matter was driven into the background by the force of events, newer and weightier than the pamphlet war. When the vituperative *Quæstiones politicae* made its appearance later, Richelieu refused to implicate the Jesuits in the affair.

The attitude of the Cardinal towards the Jesuits is consonant with the general character of the man. Their determination to be free in the exercise of their priestly functions and their refusal to render homage to his power annoyed him grievously. After the pamphlet affair, he urged the substitution of Père Bérulle of the Oratorians for the Jesuit Seguiran as the king's confessor. However, a friendly cardinal used his influence for the appointment of yet another Jesuit, Père Suffren. Fearing the influence of this good priest, whom he described as a "personage of great piety and simplicity," Richelieu wrote out a set of instructions for the guidance of the king's conscience.¹⁵ The first recommendation was in the form of a caution not to meddle in the affairs of state, "which are not your business and about which it would be impossible for you to carry a true judgment." The confessor was to go to the king only when he was called and was to seek no favors for the Society.

In 1631 Père Suffren fell into disfavor when, in obedience to the King's orders, he remained at court as chaplain

to Marie de Medici. He was then falsely accused of being party to a plot of Gaston and the Queen mother in 1631. But the most unfortunate affair was that of Father Caussin. This courageous and spirited priest was convinced of the inevitable ruin to Catholicism that would follow in the wake of the Swedish alliance and unhesitatingly instructed the king to withdraw his support from the Protestant side. Richelieu learned of the affair, and, in an uncontrollable rage, he dismissed Caussin and ordered him sent to the Jesuit house at Quimper under terms which he prescribed and which were guaranteed by the Father General. There the "martyr of the court" remained until the death of Richelieu and the king, six years later.

Politics First? Religion First?

Not only in his foreign policy and in the matter of the king's confessors did Richelieu convey an impression of lax spirituality. The ultramontane forces had been in the dominant position during the regency of Marie de Medici; on the accession of Richelieu the upsurge of feeling over the Valtelline affair, the fulminations that rent the air over the pamphlet incidents, the appearance of the book of Santarellus on papal supremacy, and Richelieu's foreign policy, all fanned the flames of nationalistic tendencies in the Church. Richelieu displayed, in general, an opportunistic policy toward the two factions but his sympathies were largely Gallican. For, added to the above grievances, was his pique over the refusal of the pope to raise him to the dignity of papal legate of France, to appoint him coadjutor bishop of Trier and to confer the cardinal's hat on Father Joseph; then, too, he still smarted from the censure inflicted by the Holy See for his action in the annulment of Gaston's marriage.

On the other hand, there are many factors that can be urged in favor of the active Catholicity of Richelieu. His most intimate friend and adviser was Father Joseph, whose great ambition was a crusade against the Turks. Like Richelieu, he adhered to the Protestant alliances against the Hapsburgs only to secure for the monarchy of France a place of superiority among the nations of Europe. Then would come the fulfillment of his dream: France, the eldest daughter of the Church, leading a great Catholic revival in Europe. While Father Joseph acted as plenipotentiary of France and chief counsellor of Richelieu, other ecclesiastics held key positions in the realm, even in the army and in the navy, consistent with the policy of the Cardinal to surround himself with churchmen. Throughout Richelieu's ministry he continued to be active in religious reform, and though he resented the Jesuit independence and their ultramontane sympathies, he always harbored a genuine respect for their unflagging religious zeal.

St. Vincent de Paul and his work were generously subsidized by Richelieu, while allusions to his beneficence to the Canadian missions are numerous in the *Relations*. It was to him that the Jesuits appealed in 1627 for the establishment of a means of support for the colonial project in Canada, and he responded with the establishment of the Company of One Hundred Associates.¹⁶ The Company of the Blessed Sacrament regarded him as a "Great and catholic minister" who always showed great consideration

¹⁴ Ludwig von Pastor in his recently translated *History of the Popes*, XXVIII, 91, sheds light on the mystery surrounding the pamphlet episode: "There exist strong reasons to believe that the *Political Secrets* are from the pen of the pugnacious Rector of the Jesuit College of Munich, Jacob Keller, but there is not sufficient proof to affirm the same of the *Admonition to Louis XIII*. In view of the fact that Maximilian of Bavaria was in the habit of using Keller on other occasions and that the latter could not have made so powerful an inroad into current politics on his own initiative, we are justified in supposing that the Duke of Bavaria . . . may also have sought to bring pressure to bear . . . by means of the aforesaid pamphlets."

¹⁵ *Lettres, instructions diplomatiques et papiers d'Etat du Cardinal de Richelieu*, (Recueillis et Publiés par M. Avenel) Paris, 1856, LXVII, 155.

for their society. And it was he who consecrated the kingdom of France to the Blessed Virgin.

Was Richelieu a secularist? It is difficult to say. Secularism is the divorce of religion from life. Richelieu, it would appear subordinated all things to his worldly ambitions but he never lost sight of his religious convictions though he constrained them to time and circumstance. Only twice did he turn from a cherished political realization for religious reasons: in the Rhine decision and in the second problem with the Valtelline. His foreign policy had the sanction of many holy men, including the founder of the Oratory, Cardinal de Bérulle

¹⁶ Under his sponsorship missions were assigned to the French Capuchins in Greece, Asia Minor, the Archipelago, Egypt, Cairo, Aleppo, Persia, Palestine and Damascus. "Even if this ambitious scheme was only partially realized, important results were nevertheless obtained, thanks to the support of the French Government. In 1634 there were Capuchin missions in Constantinople, Smyrna, Chios, Naxos, Beirut, Aleppo, Cairo, Bagdad and Tripoli." Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXIX, 225.

and the Jesuit, Father Lalement. That he was not without principle has been widely attested, and we find him declining two of the richest priories in France when the king offered them to him on the death of the Grand Prior; he had been in the council which ordered the Prior's arrest and "it would seem to cry to God for me to profit by this ecclesiastic's misfortune or to take part in his despoilment." He accumulated a tremendous fortune and lived in princely grandeur, but there is no singularity in that. It is nowhere stated that he neglected his priestly obligations, and the breath of scandal never touched him.

The last moments of Richelieu's life speak eloquently for his hidden nature. In the face of death he was calm, pious and courageous. There seemed to be no regrets. When asked if he forgave his enemies he replied: "With all my heart. I pray God to condemn me if I have had any other intention than the good of religion and of the state."

Champlain: Father of New France

(Continued from page seventy-two)

looked a little brighter than before, and that year Champlain decided to bring his wife to Canada.

The events surrounding Champlain's marriage are a bit difficult to analyze in the light of his general character. On one of his visits to France, when he was already forty years old, he married Helen Boulé, a girl of twelve, having made due arrangements not to claim her as his wife until she was grown up. She had now arrived at womanhood and came out to Canada. Her training and character made it impossible for her to live with any contentment among the rude surroundings of the frontier. It is rather mystifying that so level-headed a man should become entangled in what was apparently a scatter-brained romance. The solution of the trouble, however, is remarkably characteristic of Champlain. Helen asked to return to France and become a nun. Her husband thought that she should not enter a convent but placed no obstacles in the way of her taking a private vow of chastity. After escorting her back to France, he returned alone and devoted himself to his colony with redoubled energy. No matter what the cost, he seemed determined to make this venture succeed. He would bring honor to God and France out of failure. Failure which was not due to him but to the very impossible conditions created by his apathetic company. In order to assure God's glory he brought with him the Jesuits, among them St. John de Brébeuf, to work in the missionary field.

Shortly after these events had taken place, almost the first ray of hope was granted him. Cardinal Richelieu had finally overthrown the power of the Huguenots in France. He began a constructive program of government, which included a colonial policy. New France was to be placed under the personal control of Champlain, and proper support afforded him. However, before aid could arrive, another disaster occurred. An English fleet under Kirke appeared before Quebec and demanded the surrender of the city. This first attempt at conquest was not successful, but it prevented Richelieu's relief ships from contacting the fort. Thus by 1629 the garrison was reduced to starvation. Then Kirke returned, and this time

Champlain was forced to surrender. Sad, indeed, was the event for the Father of Canada, but when he arrived in England, he learned that peace between that nation and France had been settled on April 24 while Kirke's raid had taken place July 20, hence was unjustified. Canada was formally returned to France by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Ley. Immediately, Richelieu appointed Champlain its first civil governor. He was 65 years old, and, like the great apostle of the Gentiles, his life had been spent in perils of land and in perils of water, but he joyfully took command of his well-equipped fleet, with colonists who were anxious to establish homes, and Jesuit missionaries who once more were ready to undertake the conversion of the savages.

The first week in July, 1632, the new Governor arrived at Quebec and had the satisfaction of seeing the English flag lowered and of receiving the key to the fortress which he had evacuated with such regrets a few years before. Champlain had made a vow to erect a chapel to Our Lady of the Recovery in gratitude for the restoration of Canada to France. The following year, in the vicinity of the present Anglican Cathedral, he built the first parish church of the province. There is preserved in *The Jesuit Relations* a list of donations to this church. Pictures, statues and other objects of art with which it was enhanced soon made it a center of Catholic culture.

After the years of mismanagement due to Huguenot interference, Richelieu had determined to exclude all but Catholics from the colony. Evidently this had something to do with the termination of unpleasantness that had existed previously. *The Jesuit Relations* for 1634 begin with the sentence "We have passed this year in great peace and on very good terms with our French." Champlain took a lively interest in promoting religion in the colony. He arranged to have the Angelus rung morning, noon and night. The Jesuits go out of their way to praise the extraordinary goodness both of the governor and the soldiers and people of the settlement which, at last, began to flourish after so many reverses. Champlain's dreams were coming true.

In the Providence of God, it would seem that the Father of Canada was not intended to enjoy any extended period of happiness. In the fall of 1636 he was afflicted with a paralytic stroke. For two months he lingered between life and death. Christmas day of that year his eventful career came to a close. In the *Relations* for 1636, Father Le Juene says: "On the twenty-fifth of December, the day of the birth of Our Saviour upon earth, Monsieur Champlain, our governor was reborn in heaven. I am sure that God has shown him this favor in consideration of the benefits he has procured for New France, where we hope some day God will be loved and served by our French, and known and adored by our savages. . . . Although he died out of France, his name will not therefore be any less glorious to posterity."

The stricken populace buried their governor with all the piety and splendor at their command. Then, in the development of Canada which followed for the next century under France and later under England, the site of his grave was forgotten. However, the prophesy, made at the time of his demise, has come true. Champlain who as a boy learned to pray and to sail boats on the bay before the little French town of Brouage, continued to do both these things so well for the rest of his life that his biographers, Catholic and non-Catholic alike, glory in his praises. Says one of these: "He is an ideal to be placed before the growing boy, the young man just entering a career, the man of the world, the soldier, the sailor, the patriot, the legislator . . . one scarcely knows what to admire most in the multitude of splendid qualities which gave him such a distinctive place among the world's heroes." Perhaps this is an over-enthusiastic portrait. Nevertheless, the least that may be said is that if Champlain, thrown in the most trying circumstances, ever blundered in judgment there is no indication that he did in principle, for at all times his Faith was the norm according to which his principles were formed. That is high enough praise for any man.

Note Taking

(Continued from page seventy-four)

extracts from works that are on one's bookshelf or are otherwise easily procurable later on. The citation of the source should be clear and accurate. Only as much of the title need be reproduced on the card as serves to identify the source, the complete title of which should be entered on a bibliography card.

d) *Comment.* The investigator may in times of "mulling" form a judgment on some or other fact or statement met with in his research and wish to record it. The story of Alexander Pope having once had a candle brought to his bedside at night that he might jot down a happy phrasing or idea which occurred to him in a waking moment may have its whimsical side, but it suggests withal a principle of wisdom. A person's best and most fruitful ideas sometimes break into the field of consciousness in moments of relaxation or distraction. Not to fix them immediately in writing is to run the risk of having them fade from the memory beyond possibility of recall. Needless to say, when one is absorbed in the actual process of research or in serious study of one's sources, ideas

and judgments will occur which it may be wise to note down at once and not trust to memory alone.

e) *Factual Memoranda.* Dates, statistics, facts of any kind which the student finds useful for his purpose and which he foresees may have to enter into his written work should be noted down, especially when the source which supplies them will not later be accessible. Sometimes a mere reference to the source of such data will suffice. But in the actual process of composition factual data will often have to be carried in the memory at least for a while. One reads closely some of the pertinent sources for content, atmosphere, right perspective, assimilates the collateral data furnished by notes, and then, when all the material is clearly outlined and well organized in the mind, starts the process of setting it out in written words. Books are written in the mind before they are written on paper, it has been said. It is an illusion to suppose that one can write history directly from cards and notebooks. Memory, a reliable one, to say nothing of good judgment and constructive imagination, is a *sine qua non* in the art of history-writing. Historians differ in their methods of composition. No two of them will go about the job in precisely the same way; but for all the general procedure is much the same. The data they seek to present must first be assimilated, organized in due sequence, made alive in their own minds, before they take the final step of committing them to paper.

See on note-taking E. W. Dow, *Principles of a note-system for historical studies* (New York, 1924); J. M. Manley and E. Rickert, *The writer's index of good form and good English* (New York, 1923); S. S. Seward, Jr., *Note-taking* (Boston, 1910); Homer C. Hockett, *Introduction to research in American history* (New York, 1931); A. H. Cole and K. W. Bigelow, *A manual of thesis-writing for graduates and undergraduates* (New York, 1934); Henry Bartlett Van Hoesen and Frank Keller Walter, *Bibliography, practical, enumerative, historical* (New York, 1928); G. Crump, *History and historical research* (London, 1928), 119-149; "Memorandum of a method of noting and arranging material in research," *Historical outlook*, X (1919), 192-193; A. Curtis Wilgus, "A chronological system of note-taking and filing for history classes," *Historical outlook*, XVI (1925), 118.

Bernadotte E. Schmitt offers some scholarly enlightenment on the European situation in his *From Versailles to Munich, 1918-1938*. This is "Public Policy Pamphlet No. 28," published by the University of Chicago Press. Professor Schmitt tells us that Britain and France by repeated yielding to German and Italian threats "had largely lost the stomach for resistance. Their peoples were extremely reluctant to fight, partly because they were genuinely opposed to war, partly because the system of Versailles did not seem worth fighting for; among the governing and propertied classes there was a widespread fear that the system of private enterprise would not survive another war."

Predictions, we are told, are futile. "At the moment the future looks sombre for democratic states and the democratic idea, . . . Only time will show . . . whether Adolf Hitler can succeed where Napoleon Bonaparte failed." The tendency of "a single overmighty state is to overreach itself: witness the France of Louis XIV and of Napoleon I . . . Germany enjoys one advantage never vouchsafed to Napoleon: the tolerance of her ascendancy by Britain. . . ."

Americana

Laurence J. Kenny, S. J., M. A.

St. Louis University

COMPARE the brilliant, interesting, human biographical pages of the old *Magazine of American History* with the cold, formal, ledger-like materialistic pages of the *American Historical Review* which drove it from the field. In the former, for instance, a human mind, that of Columbus, discovers a new world; in the latter, discovery evolves from a thousand preceding convulsive movements! It is clear that there has been a revolution in writing of history in America. To no other man is this transformation so attributable as to Herbert B. Adams of the Johns Hopkins University. He created the "profession" of history in the United States, and he was the moving spirit in the establishment of the *American Historical Review*. With such rare and mighty achievements to his credit, by the irony of fate, his memory has been almost buried completely by the hugeness of his own work.

Dr. W. Stull Holt in *Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876-1901*,¹ presents us 181 letters, 25 by Dr. Adams, and the others, addressed to Adams, by well-known historians of his day, and thus in a manner saves the name of a worthy American historian from the oblivion that was overwhelming it. Up to the time of Adams, we are told in the Introduction, "the writing of history had been the avocation of lawyers, clergy and businessmen. . . . By 1880 there were only eleven professors of history in the United States." A foot-note honestly confesses that "no one has yet studied the results to ascertain in what ways the history written under the new regime is better or worse or different."

Clearly it is better and it is worse and it is different. It were well worth while to analyze and to discover and salvage the good features of the old and of the new.

Miss Constance Lindsay Skinner, born 60 years ago in a Hudson Bay trading post in northern British Columbia, hundreds of miles distant from the nearest railroad, began at the age of eleven to pour into civilization some of the romance and humanity that filled her young soul there in the solitude of the long nights of the far-north. Death found her, in the March of last year, editing a series of what she styled "folk-sagas," the story of twenty-four of America's historic rivers. Miss Blair Niles, to whom she committed the writing of *The James*,² caught the editor's spirit, one may venture to say a double spirit of the editor, as she takes the reader, first into the world of present day romance on an airplane trip along the Chesapeake and the James, and descends to meet—all in holiday attire—all the worthies of Old Virginia from John Smith and Pocahontas, through eight generations of Washingtons, Jeffersons, Patrick Henrys, and of course Marse Bob E. Lee, down to Miss Niles herself. Here is America's Valhalla, and these gods are a charming, though very exclusive, coterie. Miss Niles loves

them, adores them. Her saga has no respect for the accuracies of recent historical findings. Why should it? The book is written to please.

Raphael Semmes of "Service Afloat" could carry his readers into fields of romance and high endeavor; but he could not write more minutely accurate details of historical facts than another Raphael Semmes, the author of *Crime and Punishment in Early Maryland*.³ This is Mr. Semmes' second venture into the back lanes of Maryland's early life. It may be necessary for detectives, scouts and hangmen to occupy such situations in the body politic, but it is painful to see a Semmes volunteering in such a service. The justification must be that no one else has ever done this inquisition quite so well.

We've all indulged at times in conjecturing what might have been the outcome in a war if General X's horse had lost a shoe nail, or if General Y had ordered his cavalry into the fray an hour sooner. A British officer in *Lee, Grant and Sherman: a Study in Leadership in the 1864-65 Campaign*⁴ attempts in this manner to tell the story of the last campaign of America's Civil War. It is certainly a novel method, and furnishes easy and almost amusing reading. We attend not so much to what happened as to what might have happened. The mental sensation is much the same as that produced by the movie man when he runs his picture backwards. It does not predispose the reader toward acceptance of the author's opinions over those of Lee and Grant and Sherman when we observe that he has not yet learned the name of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which he constantly designates as the Baltimore Ohio. Students of military schools will read the book with intense interest.

Readers of Mark Twain may recall his jibe at our Congressional method of subduing the savages who were obstructing the railroad builders and at times killing the passengers on the overland routes: "I am waiting patiently to hear that they have ordered General Connor out to polish off those Indians, but the news never comes. He has shown that he knows how to fight the kind of Indians that God made, but I suppose the humanitarians want somebody to fight the Indians that J. Fenimore Cooper made. That is just where the mistake is. The Cooper Indians are dead—died with their creator. The kind that are left are altogether a different breed, and cannot be successfully fought with poetry, and sentiment, and soft soap, and magnanimity."

There is a long stretch of America between western Kansas and the Pacific coast. Major Fred B. Rogers calls it the Overland, and names his carefully documented account of the warlike activities there of General Connor and his Volunteers: *Soldiers of the Overland*.⁵ The

³*Crime and Punishment in Early Maryland*, by Raphael Semmes. Johns Hopkins Press. Baltimore. 1938. pp. 334. \$3.00.

⁴*Lee, Grant and Sherman: a Study in Leadership in the 1864-65 Campaign*, by (the British) Lieut.-Colonel Alfred H. Burne. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York. 1939. pp. XXIV + 216. \$3.00.

⁵*Soldiers of the Overland: being some account of the services of General Patrick Edward Connor and his Volunteers in the Old West*, by Fred B. Rogers. Grabhorn Press. San Francisco. 1938. pp. XII + 290.

¹*Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876-1901; as Revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert B. Adams*. Edited by W. Stull Holt. Johns Hopkins Press. Baltimore. 1938. pp. 314 + XVI. \$2.50.

²*The James (River)*, by Blair Niles. Illustrated by Edward Shenton. Farrar and Rinehart. New York. pp. 359.

career of Connor is the central theme of this work, but it may be doubted whether the author himself realizes what was certainly the most marvelous feature of "The First Gentile of Utah" and the "Father of Utah Mining." That wonderful item was how this man born in Ireland, brought as a child to New York, enlisted as a soldier serving first of all in Iowa, then in the Mexican War and in California, and finally fighting the Mormons and the Indians in the Overland, could through such a career, have kept the faith as he did! We know nothing of Major Rogers, but Catholics of America and all Americans are indebted to him for having placed on so solid a basis the title to national respect of so brave and so deserving a hero.

Let me insert here something novel, that may seem out of place to those who think history deals with politics alone. History, like everything good, must begin with the home. It has been said that nothing today is so destructive of state and church in America as the fact that home is not made interesting. This little paper volume on the history and the exercise of puppetry, *Marionettes Teach Them*⁶ cannot therefore be too highly praised as it demonstrates an amusement that has been made interesting from the beginning of human existence and has not yet lost its fascination.

Mr. William Lee Park was messenger boy, brakeman, conductor, division, and finally general superintendent of the Union Pacific Railway and consequently was intimately acquainted with everybody who in the last half of the nineteenth century was making the history of the Trans-Mississippi west. In the *Pioneer Pathways to the Pacific*⁷ we find first hand information touching almost every problem that arises in connection with the story of this section of the nation. Unfortunately neither the paper nor the binding of the book will commend it in any manner worthy of the contents.

Every volume of *Records and Studies*, under the capable editorship of the venerable Thomas F. Meehan, brings the members of the New York Catholic Historical Society and their associates, a happy selection of *nova et vetera*, new and old in time, new and old in manner of treatment, and old made new through finer precision of presentation. This present *Volume XXIX*⁸ yields to none of its predecessors in these or other fine qualities. Dr. Francis M. Crowley's lecture on American Catholic Universities will prove of special interest to university students. Thomas M. O'Connor, M. A., supplies a lengthy and admirable paper on "A Century of Catholicism in the Oregon Country." Perhaps it was outside his purpose to touch on a question that cannot be answered with that documentary verification which characterizes his entire contribution. We cannot forbear proposing it here. America and Britain were once preparing to fight for Oregon. President Polk was elected on the expectation that the United States would claim the Pacific coast as far north as the present southern boundary of Alaska. All that region, eight times the size of the State of

Oregon, was then called Oregon. The Bishops of the United States unanimously appealed to the Vatican to appoint Father DeSmet Bishop of Oregon. The question arises: what power at the Vatican was more influential than the combined hierarchy of the United States? For DeSmet was not appointed, but instead that unpopulated section was enriched with the rapid advent of three Canadian prelates. Happily there was no war, and DeSmet and the prelates worked together with perfect amity. But matters might have turned out otherwise. Politically those events left the United States an American Corridor, but for whose obstruction American railroads might run their trains on American soil to the edge of Asia. Ecclesiastically, today the Oregon Archbishop takes precedence—in time—over all the other American Metropolitans except the Archbishop of Baltimore. Perhaps we ought to have an Ambassador at the Vatican.

Here is a combination of the new history and the old, mentioned above. It seems to have come by accident; or was it by inspiration? It is the history of the *Congregation of Sisters Adorers of the Most Precious Blood, Province of Ruma*.⁹ Here are all the facts verified unquestionably, but human beings occupy the scene at all times, and they are all beautiful to behold. They disagree on most vital questions, but they never quarrel. How they are able to do that is the wonder of the story. The composition is exquisitely done.

It called for the patience and the managing ability of Father Wilfrid Parsons, S. J., to produce, apparently on short notice, what might seem a work of half a life-time: *Early Catholic Americana, 1729-1830*.¹⁰ Two generations have passed since Father Joseph Finotti made American Catholic scholarship his debtor through the publication of *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*. He listed 295 books written by Catholics before 1821. Father Parsons finds 595 issued before that date; but he extends his survey down to 1830 inclusive and thus presents the fine total of 1,119 items. Of course, Father Finotti had nothing of the generous assistance that is now available. No less than thirty librarians receive the thanks of Father Parsons for their valuable aid. It is observable in this connection that but two libraries are mentioned beyond the Mississippi, the Huntington, California, and St. Louis University. Surely there should be others. The critic is reminded that a professor of Michigan University writing in the *Dearborn Independent*, after stating that René Paul, who was the first professor of Mathematics of St. Louis University, issued a textbook of Arithmetic, went on to say that the first book of mathematics issued west of the Mississippi was printed in the Hawaiian Islands. To the protest that he was contradicting what he had just asserted about René Paul, he blandly replied that he thought St. Louis was *on* and not *beyond* the Mississippi. Did he think St. Louis was a flat-boat? Fr. Parsons, by the way, does not have René Paul. We offer him this half contribution. *Early Catholic Americana* is a book for book lovers and for librarians.

⁹ *Congregation of Sisters Adorers of the Most Precious Blood, Province of Ruma* (Illinois), by Members of the Province. Mission Press. Techny, Illinois. 1938. pp. XIX + 156.

¹⁰ *Early Catholic Americana, 1729-1830*, by Wilfrid Parsons, S. J. Macmillan Company. New York. 1939. pp. XXV + 282.

⁶ *Marionettes Teach Them*, by Sister Marie Anthony Haberl, S. L., St. Mary's Academy, Denver, Colorado. Illustrated. Paper. pp. 35. 1939. Fifty cents.

⁷ *Pioneer Pathways to the Pacific*, by William Lee Park. M. A. Donohue and Co. Chicago. pp. 284. \$2.10.

⁸ *Historical Records and Studies, Vol. XXIX*. U. S. Catholic Historical Society. Thomas F. Meehan, editor. New York. pp. 136.

Book Reviews

Napoleon, Soldier and Emperor, by Octave Aubry. Translated by Arthur Livingston. Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott. 1938. pp. 454. \$3.75.

This book is a popular life by a Napoleonic scholar. M. Aubry was fully qualified to write a ponderously annotated and documented "Life," but chose rather to write this spirited volume. The result is pleasing, instructive, and helpful. It is not a military study like Belloc's *Napoleon*, nor a "soul study" like Emil Ludwig's. Rather it is a simple, straightforward account with enough of the French metaphor, vitality, and sententious phrase to provide the Lucretian "honey on the edge of the cup" along with many draughts of sound history.

To M. Aubry Napoleon is a hero and the Savior of France. His noble qualities are brought out, and ignoble traits are placed in their proper perspective. However, the treatment never becomes markedly apologetic nor boringly sentimental. "Pitt's gold," "English persecution," and the "growing megalomania after Tilsit" are all adequately treated without histrionics. A book which is easier and more interesting to read and which gives a clearer and more comprehensive picture of the period and the man we have not seen for a long time.

R. L. PORTER.

Isaac Franklin: Slave Trader and Planter of the Old South, by Wendell Holmes Stephenson. Baton Rouge. Louisiana State University Press. 1938. pp. 368. \$3.00.

This historical record of Isaac Franklin does not owe its importance to its central character. Certainly Franklin is of no more historical importance than hundreds of other individual slavers and planters, but he is of great interest to the research student because of the many and meticulous records he left. Many other similar personal records lie buried in libraries and court-houses throughout the South and their perusal will bring to light much of the history of ante-bellum years.

Professor Stephenson has carefully divided this work into three parts, the first of which is of interest to the general reader; the second and third provide ample material for the student of historical statistics.

Part I treats of the slave trader and planter, gives data on his family background, discusses some of his earlier travels, tells of the slave markets in New Orleans and Natchez, and describes Franklin's plantations in Tennessee and Louisiana.

Part II and Part III are concerned almost entirely with the extant legal papers of Isaac Franklin. The inventories and conveyances which show his gradual accumulation of large properties and numerous slaves, are given in complete detail. The financial records of purchases and sales cover almost every item that was used during that period as well as drayage and storage charges and commissions.

The author stays close to the historian's task and does not wander into innumerable "social interpretations" of the facts he records. This is a commendable feature of any book treating of the Old South. Illustrations and maps, a good bibliography and careful index add greatly to the value of the work.

JOSEPH H. FICHTER.

Political Nativism in Tennessee to 1860, by Sister Mary de Lourdes Gohmann. Ph. D. Dissertation. Catholic University. Washington, D. C. 1938. pp. vii + 192.

This dissertation merits all the high praise of a scholarly work. The sound research which is evidenced by the extensive bibliography and the excellent composition of widely scattered facts are its outstanding features. But, like most doctoral theses, there is overemphasis on certain details, a feature which seems to the ordinary reader to delay the story under discussion. Of the 166 pages of actual text, 64 are devoted to background. Overlooking, however, these minor defects, if they can be called such, we might raise a more fundamental point. In Roy Billington's recent *The Protestant Crusade*, the author attempts to show that the political nativist movement in the United States was not so much allied to the slavery agitation as the result of anti-religious and anti-alien feelings which had been nurtured for several generations. Sister de Lourdes' story of the movement in Tennessee does not lead to this conclusion. For instance, the real issue in the Tennessee gubernatorial campaign in 1855 was not the religious question but opposition to Democracy. The movement was not led by the people but by a handful of politicians, religious fanatics and unprincipled demagogues who used the religious issue as a political "scare crow" to achieve their ends. It is not the reviewer's

intention to start a discussion on this point nor to criticize the two authors, but rather to remark that until a more complete study of the nativist movement in each section of the country has been done, any general conclusion regarding the issue which is brought forward, must stand some modification. The work under review is one part of this study and we hope to see more of its scholarly type issued by the Department of History at the Catholic University.

GEORGE McHUGH.

John of Salisbury's Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers, by Joseph B. Pike. Minneapolis. University of Minnesota Press. 1938. pp. x + 436. \$7.50.

John of Salisbury appended a secondary title to his *Polycraticus*,—*De nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum*; hence the title used by Professor Pike in his translation of passages from that work. The first of the two topics, the vices and follies of princes and their entourage, is treated in books one to three, which are here translated. In books seven and eight, John provides us with an outline of ancient philosophy and some discussion of philosophic method. Selections from these two books are also included in the translation. There was no need to translate books four to six, as this part of the *Polycraticus* was translated in 1927 by Dickinson and published under the title *The Statesman's Book*.

The translator is to be commended for the fidelity with which he has reproduced the thought of the great twelfth century thinker. By the numerous citations of the sources, both classical and patristic, we are made to realize the great indebtedness of John to his predecessors and the imitative quality of twelfth century literature in general. Those who were interested in the history of philosophy will find the selections from the seventh book particularly valuable.

The only complaint that might be registered against the work of Professor Pike would be the query as to why he did not translate the seventh and eighth books in their entirety. Had he done so, we would now have a complete English translation of this twelfth century masterpiece.

THOMAS M. HARVEY.

The Turkey of Atatürk, by Donald Everett Webster. Philadelphia. The American Academy of Political and Social Science. 1939. pp. xiv + 337. \$2.50.

Late in October last year a gala, three-day celebration was held throughout Turkey to mark the fifteenth anniversary of the foundation of the Republic. Two weeks later the nation was in mourning over the death of its first president and hero, Kamâl Atatürk ("Perfection, Father of All Turks"). This hard, dissolute, but amazingly energetic and resourceful soldier-statesman, is beyond question one of the outstanding personalities of the twentieth century.

The volume under review is a study not so much of the man as of his work. As the author states in his preface, it is "an attempt to describe the complex of processes of change in modern Turkey." While political and economic developments are accorded a measure of consideration, major emphasis is thrown on those phases of social reconstruction which have transformed the erstwhile "Sick Man of Europe" into a progressive, westernized nation. Chief among these are the conquest of illiteracy, the liberation of womanhood and extensive programs of welfare work.

Three years' residence in Turkey has afforded the author ample opportunity to familiarize himself with the language, character and sentiments of its people as well as to gather material for his study at first hand. Enthusiastic admiration for the achievements of El Ghazi sometimes leads him to inject a propagandist flavor into his account. Otherwise the picture of the post-war Turkish "Renaissance" is presented accurately and orderly. A series of maps, charts and tables contributes much to the value of the book.

CLARENCE J. RYAN.

Crime and Punishment in the Old French Romances, by F. Carl Riedel. New York. Columbia University Press. 1938. pp. ix & 197. \$2.00.

The primary significance of Mr. Riedel's book is literary. At the same time, it has historical import, inasmuch as it is carefully documented throughout. Especially are his opening chapters of value to the historian, for in them one may find a rather neat summary of the principal features of criminal law in thirteenth century France.

The book's scheme is not complicated. We have, first, an outline of the criminal law of the period. Then follows an analysis of the technique and characters in twenty romances, chiefly French, of the period between 1167 and 1316. Of these about two-thirds are society romances, the others being *romans d'aventure*. And now for Mr. Riedel's work, which is to compare the real law of the nation with the sense of law and morals as found in the stories. Mr. Riedel denies that the characters are conventional literary puppets. Crime in the romances, he says, is very like the crimes against which the French had legislated; the punishment of the culprit in the story corresponds to what was actually dealt out by the medieval judges.

The Romances, often picaresque, enable us to gauge quite accurately the taste of contemporary civilization. When the courtiers read or heard these accounts of wicked deeds, they found them fascinating and enthralling,—a fact which should be a warning to us as we witness the modern vogue for violence and terrifying realism in our art and literature.

How naive were their proofs of innocence or guilt! Even the minor clergy cooperated (though the Holy See decried such practices) in testing suspects. Innocence might be proved by surviving immersion in freezing water, or (up to 1215) carrying hot irons a stated distance, or by enlisting a champion as proxy, or by duelling, or by organizing a group, even of one's relatives! to swear to a man's innocence.

Mr. Riedel's point, though small, is well made. The old romances woven into his text are charmingly simple and easy reading, although this is not to say that the work is not firmly buttressed with the apparatus of scholarship.

WILLIAM F. KELLEY.

Why Hitler Came to Power, by Theodore Abel. New York. Prentice-Hall. 1938. pp. xi & 322. \$2.75.

Back in 1934 a professor of sociology had the bright idea of getting the Nazis to tell their own story. He offered four hundred marks in prizes for the best life histories of Hitler followers. After eliminating the feminine writers and a few others he had an even six hundred contributions. After much classification, selection and analysis, he presents with becoming modesty his cross-section of National Socialism self-revealed. Of course, the subjective element enters into each of the six hundred stories, and into the author's synthesis as well. But the reader does have the satisfaction of feeling that he is being brought close to the mystery of Hitler and his fanatical following.

And yet there is little evidence of fanaticism in this book, which barely touches the period since 1934. Unlike Marxist writers of the type of John Strachey, who fit their "facts" into a theory, and psycho-analysts like Frederick L. Schuman, who manufacture their own facts, Professor Abel deals with reality. Psychical and economic factors there were in the movement. But Freudians and Marxians are poor guides even in their chosen fields. Professor Abel makes the average Nazi look like a human being. His explanations are not very profound. And we do not learn much that is new. But in the appeal to normal men of the very natural combination of Nationalism and "Socialism" we find adequate motivation for the common run of post-Versailles Germans.

One is not surprised to find former Reds in great numbers among the Brown Shirts who, after all, are much nearer to the German worker than is Moscow. Nor is one surprised to see how Nazi patriotism thrives upon its opposition to the menace of international Communism. The harsh and barbarous treatment of the Jews is more easily explained than justified. Without Hitler there would scarcely have been a Nazi Party. But given the discontent, the indignation and the feeling of frustration after the War, it is easy to understand the self-effacing devotion of millions to a Leader in whom they discern a demoniac power and mistake it for something divine.

R. CORRIGAN.

A Shorter History of England and Greater Britain, by A. L. Cross. New York. Macmillan. pp. xxvi & 1006. \$4.25.

This text-book has stood in high favor among teachers and students of English history since its first issue in 1914. In the third edition in which the narrative of events in Great Britain and the Dominions is brought down to the close of 1938 Professor Cross has retained the commendable features of his original work and added a number of welcome improvements. The dominantly political theme is relieved and supplemented by occasional chapters summarizing period developments in social, religious and economic fields. The bibliographies appended to each chapter have been overhauled with a view of incorporating

recent contributions of scholars. One is disappointed that this revision has not been more thorough. Omission of such works as those contained in the Oxford series seems entirely unwarranted.

C. J. RYAN.

Gods of the Gentiles, by George C. Ring, S. J. Milwaukee. Bruce Publishing Co. 1938. pp. xvi + 343. \$3.50.

To read *Gods of the Gentiles* is to absorb a considerable dose of historical *Wissenschaft* and theological lore in a very pleasing banquet. Here is solid food for the tyro and dessert for the expert. What in the hands of a less expert chef might have become huge chunks of indigestible ponderosity, is here seasoned with little whimsies that make it delightful. These decorations are reminiscent of the occasion twenty-five years ago when the author wrote and produced a burlesque on Hannibal's crossing of the Alps: he knows how to take his classical lore with a seasoning of humor.

This is not, however, a joke book, but one of serious intent. Paraded before our eyes come the religious vagaries of Paganism, in all their wiliness, grotesqueness, and downright humbuggery, but the "gentle reader" is spared the portrayal of cruel and obscene rites. The author leaves to St. Paul the chore of telling us to what depths Paganism had really sunk. Running through the welter of confused and confusing theologies, one can see distinctly the thread of genuine religion, the willing acknowledgment on the part of man that he is subject to a personal Overpower to Whom he owes homage and Whom he must supplicate for temporal and everlasting favors.

The glib assurance with which many authors assume that the similarities in Paganism and Christianity indicate the derivation of the latter from the former, is handled briefly and vigorously. It is my personal conviction that they should have received lengthier attention, but the author defends his method by the disclaimer of any apologetic purpose in his work. Of course it is his own book and so he may direct it as he wills, but I regret that he did not give a more complete answer to a problem that now exercises every dilettante in religious gossip.

A reviewer is expected to find that a book is not absolutely perfect. Hence: the photographs are excellent and plentiful, but the maps are too few for readers who are not steeped in classical history. One is led to think the author has assimilated the spirit of perspectiveless Egyptian art, for the figures on p. 124 leave one the unpleasant choice of believing that the pyramid and hills lie on their sides or else that the Nile flows vertically! And the dictionaries do not sanction "cannals" for "canals." This book should be read by any student who wants a comprehensive picture of Pagan religious thought and worship.

S. J. RUEVE.

The Vatican as a World Power, by Joseph Bernhart.

Translated by George N. Shuster. New York. Longmans, Green and Co. 1939. pp. vii & 456. \$4.00.

This book was not written for those who believe that "the popes have committed only venial sins, nor for those who feel more joy over one sinner than over ninety-nine that are just." The reader who finds a malicious satisfaction in the failings of a few bad popes will lay down the book with a feeling that the author knows the seamy side of the Papacy, and is at no pains to hide it. If Saint Peter could be weak, so could his successors. On the other hand, when the scandals of all the centuries are raked together, the long line of sovereign pontiffs presents a rather remarkable record. The Vatican Council appealed to history as a standing proof of the divine mission of the Church. Leo XIII threw open the Vatican archives, and bade Catholic historians to tell the whole truth. Joseph Bernhart tries to tell the whole truth.

Quite rightly, he makes clear that the Papacy in its origins and in the inmost sources of its energy is a subject too big for the mere historian or the mere philosopher. Not because its constitution is a masterpiece of human wisdom, nor because great statesmen have worn the tiara, has it weathered the storms of the past. "There is no philosophy of the history of the Papacy, and there can be none, any more than there can be a logic of the Christian story of salvation." The Papacy "rests on an historical event without a parallel in history." It is unique; it transcends history. Here we have all the apology any author needs for frankness in dealing with the Vatican.

In less than four hundred pages Dr. Bernhart disposes of the long story from Peter to Pius XI. In some sixty pages he takes the reader through the complicated machinery of the papal government. Naturally, the book is packed with useful information. The translation is good English. And yet, the critical reader will reread more than one passage, and be forced to leave it with a

marginal question mark. When did Paul take "the Primacy from Jerusalem" and give it to Rome? In what sense can one say that "the three centuries which followed the death of Simon Kepha had no conception of a sovereign in the *cathedra Petri*? Again, we are not so sure that the dogma of the Immaculate Conception can be called merely "a conclusion derived from the ancient teaching that Mary is the Virgin Mother of the Divine Son?" There are other overstatements and misstatements, and not a few minor slips. The author's purpose is to "arouse strong feelings." Apparently, he likes to start an argument. He cannot object if more accurate and better-documented sources are used to end it.

R. CORRIGAN.

The Senate of the United States, by George H. Haynes. Houghton Mifflin Company. Boston. 1938. Two volumes. pp. x + 1118. \$8.50.

Three years after he had completed his term of office Woodrow Wilson declared that "Outside of the United States the Senate does not amount to a damn. And inside the United States the Senate is mostly despised; they haven't had a thought down there in fifty years." George Haynes evidently did not start out to prove this thesis in his excellent *The Senate of the United States*, but not infrequently during the perusal of his two volumes one gets the impression that Wilson's remark is not wholly without foundation.

A glance at the table of contents of this work will show that the author intended a very carefully planned analysis of the Senate, its history and practice. Considering the magnitude of his task and the limited scope of his two volumes, it must be admitted that he has competently executed that plan. It was of course impossible to develop logically a mere chronology of senatorial events, hence the author has well divided his field into separate problems. Each division is traced historically from its inception to the present time.

There is an undue emphasis in this historical treatment, upon senatorial practices during the three or four decades immediately preceding the present Roosevelt regime. This emphasis, however, does not lessen the worth of the book; on the contrary it heightens the interest of the majority of readers who have followed the course of modern American politics.

The reader who is looking for a mere statement of facts—and nothing further—may be disappointed in these two volumes. The author has successfully achieved his purpose in interpreting the Senate "not as a mere wheel in an elaborate governmental machine, but as a group of individual personalities, intent upon an intricate and ever-changing task." The whole work is enlivened by anecdotes, given mainly in the footnotes and relating the squabbles as well as the achievements of our "august and democratic statesmen." The two volumes are well documented, and the bibliographies will help the ambitious student.

JOSEPH H. FICHTER.

Lord North, by W. Baring Pemberton. London. Longmans Green and Co. 1938. pp. xii & 445. \$6.00.

A brilliant array of achievements picturesquely portrayed is not yet a successful biography; but if it possesses any historical verisimilitude at all it affords a splendid setting. When based on painstaking personal research and impartial sifting of evidence, enlivened by a fine artistic sense of the relevancy and appeal of detail, such a biography leaves little to be desired. Such is this colorful portrayal of Frederick North.

Perhaps undue allowance has been made for the prejudices of the average English reader. Many of the noble Lord's vices and deficiencies are hurriedly admitted, without being at all dwelt upon in the progress of the narrative. Commendable activities and zestful anecdotes reveal their eminent protagonist as a witty, patient, dutiful, conscientious statesman, unquestionably the best available for a critical situation, not unworthily comparable to Lincoln. But the author's own recapitulations, far from subscribing to this optimistic verdict, play up the presumably familiar features of a lazy, irresponsible, thoroughly mediocre incumbent, excusable only by reason of his own consciousness of his shortcomings. The unprejudiced reader finds himself a bit bewildered at the paradox.

A blameworthy feature is the author's jocular, light-hearted, condescending attitude towards private and national morality. Patriotic Americans might not justifiably resent the assumption that our war of independence was fomented solely by generous British leniency in our regard, or by the machinations of a few ambitious spirits. But on the whole both the American and the Catholic cause is treated squarely, if with a certain unconcern.

ROBERT G. NORTH.

A Guide to the Papal Encyclicals of the Roman Pontiffs from Leo XIII to the Present Day, (1878-1937), by Sister M. Claudia Carlen. H. W. Wilson & Co. N. Y. 1939. pp. 247. \$2.00.

"Catholic Action . . . should be based on the great Pontifical teachings, . . . not on an isolated principle here and there, but on the pontifical documents in their entirety." With these words of Jacques Maritain Sister M. Claudia begins the preface to her invaluable *Guide to the Encyclicals*. A great many people realize that in the papal pronouncements of the past sixty years a complete program of Catholic Action has been laid down, a program that overlooks no phase of life—whether political, social, economic, intellectual, or religious. Few, however, know where these papal letters may be found either in the original language or in translation. It is to remedy this situation that Sister Claudia has produced her *Guide*. Students of the papal encyclicals will bless this volume for it will not only save them much time in their quests for the texts of particular encyclicals, but it will also supply them with references to translations, summaries, and commentaries for each encyclical. The value of the *Guide* is not limited to English-speaking students, but will be just as useful for French, German, Italian, and Spanish students, as translations and commentaries in these languages are also listed.

In the preface there is an explanation of the various types of papal documents and an attempt to straighten out the confusion that results from the somewhat promiscuous use of the term "encyclical." The first part of the book lists general collections of encyclicals; then follow one hundred and forty-four individual encyclicals of the last four popes. At the end of the book there is a chronological index which has the added value of supplying at a glance the encyclicals of each pope with Latin title, date of publication, and an indication of the subject matter of each. The compilation makes no claim to being exhaustive, yet it is remarkably complete for an initial venture of this kind, and interested persons will find more than enough with which to begin work.

PHILIP T. DERRIG.

Slave Insurrections in the United States, 1800-1865, by Joseph C. Carroll. Boston. Chapman and Grimes. 1938. pp. 229. \$2.00.

At last the "forgotten man" of American history is coming into his own. The Negro and the very important part he played in our nation's story have hitherto been neglected to the detriment of both himself and his fellow-citizens. The long silence, enforced by prejudice and accepted by our historians, has left the Negro ignorant of the glories that are really his, and has led others to conclude that the Negro never was, nor would be, anything more than the slave in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* or the end-man in a minstrel show.

This little volume is a contribution to a new movement, an attempt to give the Negro his rightful place in the historical perspective. It presents a section of our national life that will be revealing to most Americans. It shows the Negro as he really was, and is; a man of ideals, determination, courage, and sagacity. It does away with the time-honored conception of a happy big-family South where paternal land-lords and contented slaves dwelt in pastoral harmony. A truer picture is that of a nervous white population fearing always an ebullition of the undercurrent of unrest that came quite readily to men who could not see how the Declaration of Independence and the institution of slavery could co-exist. Because this book, necessarily condensed, appears to be a mere amassing of factual information, it loses somewhat in coherence.

MARTIN HASTING.

Sir Walter Scott, Bart., by Sir Herbert J. C. Grierson. New York. Columbia University Press. 1938. pp. xii + 320. \$4.50.

Far from attempting to supersede Lockhart's classical biography of Scott, Sir Herbert Grierson takes for granted in his readers a rather thorough knowledge of that book. His modest desire is to correct Lockhart by bringing out the features which were charitably omitted or subtly softened by a too friendly hand. The many letters which are now available but which were inaccessible to Lockhart, especially those which passed between Constable and Cadell and their London agents and other correspondents, have enabled Sir Herbert Grierson to correct some errors of fact and date and to make explicable Scott's financial disaster. The present volume is, then, a supplement to Lockhart and the other lives of Scott based on his. It is, however, a valuable supplement, and necessary for all serious students of literature.

WILLIAM C. GRUMMEL.

The History of History, by James T. Shotwell. New York. Columbia University Press. 1939. pp. xii + 407. \$3.75.

It is often interesting to note how very unscientific a "scientific" bit of work can be. Professor Shotwell's latest volume is a case in point. Not content with rattling the old bones of things long dead and buried such as the evolution of the *homo sapiens* from the "shaggy simian brutes of the Tertiary forests," he calls Revelation itself into question. It used to be a matter of Moses' authorship of the Pentateuch, it is now one of God's authorship of the Decalogue. The old pabulum of the by-gone "scientific" critic that science and religion, or reason and revelation, cannot agree is rehearsed here once again. These things have been frequently and decisively quashed by Christian anthropologists, historians, biblical scholars, and philosophers.

Unfortunately two of the five parts of the present work, the section on Jewish biblical history and that on "Christianity and history," are vulnerable because of the author's "scientific" rejection of Christian philosophy and theology. The remainder is very commendable and worth-while. The display of factual knowledge is impressive, and the interpretation of ancient writings from Egypt and Babylonia, through Persia, Greece, and Rome, and down to the *City of God* of St. Augustine is interestingly and forcefully presented. The book contains many new ideas and much new information that will be of help to the historical student.

This *History of History* recalls another recent work on the same subject by Harry Elmer Barnes. Professor Shotwell's chief advantage over the prolific author of *The History of Historiography* lies in the fact that he intends to do in two volumes what Professor Barnes attempted to do in one. Lest this seem to be damning with faint praise, we make haste to remark that this "biography of Clio" goes much further in presenting historiography as "that part of the human story which one should master first if one would ever learn to judge the value of the rest."

MARTIN HASTING.

Europe in the Seventeenth Century, by David Ogg. Macmillan. New York. 1938. pp. 551. \$3.75.

In this revised edition of his well-known work, Professor Ogg offers a compressed study of an era crowded with incident. All the striking contrasts and contradictions, great personalities, and tremendous historical issues of the times are treated with scholarly appreciation and precision. From the first chapter, in which the characteristics of the seventeenth century are clearly analyzed, to the closing observations of the place of the seventeenth century in history, one follows an absorbing story of a brilliant period which might well be apotheosized as "the most colorful of centuries." The towering personalities of Richelieu, Louis XIV, Gustavus Adolphus, Peter the Great, Charles XII, of Sweden, and John Sobieski are seen in proper perspective and the episodic movements of which they were the principals are keenly evaluated. A new era emerges as the century terminates—a century in sharp contrast with its predecessor: the Empire and the Papacy have been reduced to political impotency; the old dynastic kingdoms have given place to the national state; secularized politics has submerged the old traditional suasions; and the modern age of rationalism and secularism has sprung into being.

Religion is a dominant feature of the seventeenth century and the occasional misconceptions of the author may be attributed more to misunderstanding than to ill-will. The Papacy, the Jesuits, and Medievalism come in for their share of animadversion; the intellectual retrogression of Spain is emphasized by the fact that its universities "still drew their inspiration from St. Thomas Aquinas and the orientalized Aristotle of the Middle Ages." Naturally, the great spiritual revival that marked the seventeenth century is neglected. For a well-balanced study, the recently published volumes of Ludwig von Pastor should prove a necessary complement to *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*.

SISTER M. PURISSIMA.

Italy and the Vatican at War: A Study of Their Relations from the Outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War to the Death of Pius IX, by S. William Halperin. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 1939. pp. xvii + 483. \$3.00.

When one studies history as a continuum of historical movements, the old axiom that formative years are the most important gains new vitality and application. Mr. Halperin's latest study of Italo-papal relations in the last century is focused on those

eight very important formative years when the New Italy and a New Vatican arose side by side and started forward into a New Era. He has called these eight years in which the "Prisoner of the Vatican" and the "Usurper on the Quirinal" faced each other, "war." However, "war" has peculiar connotations of strife between two national powers. But this struggle was not over the few acres of the temporal sovereignty! The real issues at stake were the rights of the Church, and ultimately of the individual, against an aggressive state. Pius IX probably was out of touch with the political currents of the time, as he himself stated. But his understanding of spiritual affairs and of his sacred trust was keen, and his fight was to the death.

The author quite clearly sympathizes with the "progressive" element, but he everywhere thoroughly tries to be objective, and he succeeds fairly well. Throughout he earnestly tries to let the documents speak for themselves, and refrains from all save the most obvious interpretation. As a result, however, some larger considerations remain unemphasized, and the motives of Pius are lost. Our gratitude towards the "Rock" of the Papacy in our present-day crisis make us more appreciative of Pius' "intransigency."

This is the second book of a series projected by the author on Italo-papal relations in the past hundred years. The first, *The Separation of Church and State in Italian Thought from Cavour to Mussolini* appeared in 1936. Further studies will bring the situation down to date. Mr. Halperin's diligent scholarship is creating a series of volumes which will be indispensable reading for any study of Church and State during this period.

R. L. PORTER.

The Rise of New York Port, 1815-1860, by Robert Greenhalgh Albion. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1939. pp. xiv & 485. \$3.75.

Dr. Albion, a distinguished professor at Princeton University and one of the few Americans to be elected an honorary member of the Society for Nautical Research (London), is eminently fitted for a scholarly exploitation of the neglected history of New York Port. The task required a tremendous amount of original research among widely dispersed source materials. It has been so fruitful, however, that the author promises us three volumes on the history of the Port, and a number of specialized studies of some of its particular aspects.

The first volume to appear deals with the more important middle period from 1815 to 1860 when New York definitely drew ahead of its rivals, and established itself as the chief American seaport and metropolis. Of the other two volumes on the history of the Port which are in prospect, one will be devoted to the two centuries preceding this period, and the other will treat of the years after 1860 when the port rose to world primacy.

The author emphasizes the fact that the story of the rise of New York Port is one not alone of fate or of geographical position, but of struggle, of courage and ability of a high order. "Merchant princes," daring, energetic, far-seeing leaders, by strokes of business ingenuity and well-timed devices, caused the main channels of commerce to flow in their direction. Some of these important moves were: the inauguration in 1818 of the Black Ball Line with its new, regular, and dependable service; the opening of the Erie Canal which tapped the trade of the Western frontier; the creation of a three-cornered trade in the "cotton triangle" by which New York dragged the commerce between the Southern ports and Europe some two hundred miles out of its normal course.

With the exception of the first chapter the book is arranged topically rather than chronologically. It possesses a valuable appendix of compressed data, a good index, and a vast bibliography. However, not a single source-reference is given in the text. The book is highly interesting, lively, and anecdotal in character. The ordinary reader will find pleasure and instruction in its perusal; the student of economic or commercial trends cannot afford to dispense with it.

N. P. LOEHR.

Pre-Reformation England, by H. Maynard Smith. London. Macmillan and Co. 1938. pp. ix & 556. \$8.00.

In an attempt to account for, not merely the causes of the Reformation, but also the conditions of the time which made such a Reformation possible in England, Canon Smith has brought forth an excellent book. His object is "to describe what Pre-Reformation England was like and the opinions of Englishmen at the time." The book is divided into two parts. In the first the author treats of the Church and of the clergy, of the popular religion and the extent of the prevalent superstitions, of the economic and social conditions and changes, of the relation-

ship of Church and State. The second section of the book tries to account for some of the tendencies of the time and to explain their influence on the Reformation. Here we find chapters on Lollardy, scholasticism, the English mystics, literature, humanism, and the Catholic reformers. The author makes no pretense at original research, but relies chiefly on secondary sources, generally trustworthy ones. Copious footnotes and references indicate a wide reading acquaintance with the subject.

In general, Canon Smith is very fair and openminded in his treatment of the Church and the condition of the clergy. He admits that there was a "popular religion—real, sincere and active." Generally he is moderate and reasoned in his criticisms, although for his most damaging statements against the Church he sometimes falls back on such doubtful authorities as Coulton, Starkey and Froude. He has an interesting account of scholasticism, yet he makes bold to point out several shortcomings in the doctrines of St. Thomas Aquinas. On the whole, however, his treatment of the Angelic Doctor is adequate and intelligent. He traces much of the Reformation back to the doctrines of Duns Scotus and Ockham.

There are, unfortunately, some passages in the book in which Canon Smith does not measure up to his usual standards of fairness and understanding. When he generalizes: "all the sacraments were sold and the whole Church in consequence could be and was accused of simony" (62) he is not keeping within the bounds of sober fact. There is a characteristic misunderstanding of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and here especially does he echo Coulton and Pusey. In the treatment of superstitions and abuses he tries to find a happy medium, but often he goes too far, sometimes setting the exception in the wrong place. We are grateful for the prominence given to the character and principles of St. Thomas More, but we are disappointed to find so little said of St. John Fisher, the one shining light among the English prelates. True to his "High church" tradition, the author tries to trace the continuity of the Church (Anglican) through Henry VIII's work as a Traditionalist and "Defender of the Faith." The average Catholic will be astonished by the author's closing statement: "Both before and after the Reformation the Church of England has claimed to be the Catholic Church in this land."

Despite these few shortcomings, *Pre-Reformation England* is a welcome addition to the works on the English Reformation. The book is extremely well written and the author is to be congratulated for his fine work and fair treatment of this important subject. The final summary is one of the finest things that has yet appeared. The lengthy bibliography, covering some fourteen pages, is valuable. We anxiously await the promised second volume which is to treat of the English Reformation itself.

CHARLES L. SANDERSON.

Anthony Philip Heinrich, a Nineteenth-Century Composer in America, by William Treat Upton. New York. Columbia University Press. 1939. pp. xiv + 337. \$4.50.

In Upton's *Anthony Philip Heinrich*, number four of the Columbia University Studies in Musicology, we have a work that is at once scholarly and musicianly. The book will be valuable to any historian attempting to reconstruct the artistic and cultural backgrounds of American History before 1800. To the musician of today, the music of the untutored Heinrich can be of little interest; it is too diffuse, and in many cases too crude to warrant its reproduction. The fact, however, that Heinrich's music has not much real value, must not blind our eyes to the important historical value of his work. By drawing in clear lines the life and work of this "Beethoven of America," as Heinrich was known in his day, Upton has made an enlightening contribution to the History of American Music. We can hope that now at long last, historians of American Music will take more than passing notice of the long-neglected "Father Heinrich."

It is because the scholar of musical history will look to this work as a sort of last word, that he will be a little disappointed to get an unsatisfactory answer to the question of Heinrich's religion. In spite of the fact that the author makes much of the spiritual quality of Heinrich's music, he is content to pass over the matter of his religion with the parenthetical statement that "it may well have been this Catholic settlement that attracted Heinrich to Bardtown (he seems to have been a Roman Catholic)." It will be embarrassing for a man interested in American Church Music to have to base any conclusions upon so diluted a statement as this. The question can, and ought to be settled with greater certitude. The same is true of other less important points in regard to which too much stress is given to Heinrich's scrapbook as a source, especially since it is made up largely of newspaper clippings.

CHARLES T. HUNTER.

The New Deal in Action, 1933-1938, by Arthur M. Schlesinger. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1939. pp. 69. \$0.60. Published annually to supplement Volume II of Hockett and Schlesinger's *Political and Social Growth of the United States*. Complete to November, 1938.

Major European and Asiatic Developments Since 1935, by Walter C. Langsam. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1939. pp. ii + 121. \$0.60. Published primarily to supplement the last (1936) edition of W. C. Langsam's text, *The World Since 1914*. Complete to January, 1939.

Mr. Schlesinger's work should be of interest even as a mere pamphlet. Today, on the date of what seems to be a "crisis" of the New Deal, this brief, scholarly summary is valuable. Mr. Langsam's sketch of the wider picture is equally timely and interesting. Both authors have sought to be objective; in fact, the events treated are too close to us to permit of "interpretation." We feel, however, that much of Mr. Langsam's account of the Spanish War will be rewritten. The sources have been too "muddled" for present treatment, and some statements about the Franco government will have to be withdrawn. Both works contain select bibliographies, Mr. Langsam's covering ten pages.

R. L. PORTER.

Mary Ward, An Historical Romance, by Ida Goerres Coudenrove. Translated by Elsie Codd. New York. Longmans. 1938. pp. viii & 260.

Mary Ward was born in York in 1585. She returned to York to die there in 1645. In the interim, St. Omer, Munich, Rome and London had been the chief scenes of her activity. The Gunpowder Plot, the victories of Cromwell and the Thirty Years' War roughened her path. Catholic heroism under the penal laws in England and Catholic loyalty to the Faith among the refugees on the Continent provided the setting for her own courage, constancy and zeal. But that which sets her apart and gives her career a unique importance is her pioneer attempt to found a religious congregation which the needs of the times demanded and high authorities were determined to prevent. Not only the Institute which claims her as its foundress, but all teaching sisterhoods should be interested in the verdict of Rome which, it is hoped, will in the near future put the seal of approval on her work.

This "historical romance" will be classified rather as literary and inspirational entertainment than as a contribution to history. No doubt, the author is capable of writing history. But apparently, she was limited to the materials in the standard biographies of Mother Chambers and Helene Riesch. She did try to get access to the original writings of Mary Ward. These, however, though extremely interesting, would have made no substantial change in her story. What we have here is an artistic portrait which will, we hope, serve to awaken admiration and affection for a heroine.

There are readers for whom a light essay is better intellectual (or emotional) nutriment than a serious historical study. For the reviewer, however, this sort of writing is, quite frankly, unconvincing. In fact, it usually produces a revulsion of feeling. We could wish that Mary Ward, whose work was destroyed by over-zealous officials while she herself was thrown into prison and branded as a heretic, may soon be judged on the evidence of the documents still extant. Meantime, for the great majority, who like this kind of book, we recommend the book heartily.

R. CORRIGAN.

Tudor Puritanism: a Chapter in the History of Idealism, by M. M. Knappen. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 1939. pp. xii + 555. \$4.00.

It is a truism that any historian worthy of the name should assume the role of a judge and not that of an advocate. Professor Knappen fully measures up to this fundamental qualification of his profession. For, though he candidly acknowledges his profound and enthusiastic admiration for early Puritan idealism, his treatment of the movement and the forces which opposed it is so uniformly objective and sympathetic that none but the most partisan can take exception to his analyses and conclusions.

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ideology and practice. The selection of 1524 as the birthyear of English Puritanism is by no means arbitrary. William Tyndale's departure for Germany in that year to prepare his translation of the Bible was deeply significant. His action, involving a violation of the ecclesiastical law which forbade the issuance of a translation of the Scriptures without episcopal approbation as well as a transgression of the civil statute prohibiting subjects from leaving the country without royal permission, was characteristic of Puritan "passive obedience." It likewise foreshadowed the preeminent position in which future adherents of the sect were to hold the Bible. The two Tudor queens are portrayed in their proper perspectives. Mary retained the medieval conception of heresy as a crime and a menace to society. Her severity in dealing with propagators of novel doctrines was not construed by contemporary Protestants as ruthless, fanatical despotism, an impression which most subsequent writers have striven to create. Political expediency was a much stronger force in shaping Elizabeth's policies than religious conviction.

While the author does not attempt to conceal such distasteful features of Tudor Puritanism as its religious intolerance, social rigidity and cold intellectuality, he does, in a calm, persuasive way, give a much more engaging and accurate picture than is usually drawn. The 16th century Puritan was as a rule a conscientious, home-loving, peaceful individual whose private and public life was quite uniformly dominated by an otherworldly view.

This is a gracious, scholarly book, which should appeal to the layman as well as the historian. The latter will be particularly pleased with the excellent historiography of Puritanism and the guide to facilities for the study of English Puritanism in American universities.

CLARENCE J. RYAN.

A History of Europe from the Invasions to the Sixteenth Century, by Henri Pirenne. Translated by Bernard Miall. New York. W. W. Norton & Co. 1939. pp. 624. \$5.00.

It is seldom that we pick up a work with such a romantic history as this one. The late Henri Pirenne, one of the greatest medievalists of our day, was professor of history at the University of Ghent, where he was taken prisoner by the Germans in 1916. While in the detention camp at Holzminden, he lectured to some of the prisoners in their "university." Later, while isolated in the little Thuringian village of Creuzberg-an-der-Werra, he again turned to his historical studies as a means of comfort and discipline in his trials. It is here that he wrote the present work. Boethius while in prison wrote his "Consolations of Philosophy"; this might well be called M. Pirenne's "Consolations of History." Without access to historical libraries and deprived of his notes, he drew upon the accumulated results of thirty-five brilliant years of previous research. In the words of his son: "It is the synthesis of all his knowledge, ripened in meditation at a time when, being deprived of access to books, he could confront that knowledge only with this thought." In a word, we have here the essence of his knowledge of medieval history together with all his famous theories upon certain phases of medieval development.

The conditions under which this book was written determine its character. It is, indeed, a marvel of historical synthesis. The warp and woof of history are clearly seen as the author weaves the pattern of the Middle Ages. M. Pirenne saw medieval history clearly and saw it whole; and by his perfect clarity, precision of style, and aptness of metaphor and analogy, he enables us to see it also.

The book is by no means a manual of factual material. Even the dates have been inserted, for the most part, by later editing. "Meditation" and the absence of the usual scholarly apparatus have made M. Pirenne rather apodictic. To be sure, he has all the right of an expert to be so, but this quality must be noted. In our opinion, to appreciate and understand a "synthesis," a college freshman must have something to synthesize. For beginners, a book should include not only the conclusions, but also some of the more immediate premises. We can agree with the publishers that no student, once he has amassed a sufficient fund of the factual material, should neglect reading this book. M. Pirenne can show him the *totality* of medieval history in a way he never saw it before.

R. L. PORTER.

"We are glad to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world" (Woodrow Wilson, 1917). "The day of conquest and aggrandisement is gone by" (Woodrow Wilson, 1918).